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Envoys Address INF Preparatory Commission

PM281001 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 88 Second Edition p 7

[V. Korionov report: "On the Path of Ratification"]

[Text] The Preparatory Commission—the working organ of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' foreign affairs commissions formed to examine questions associated with the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles—is continuing its work. Its latest session took place in the Kremlin yesterday.

The purpose of the session was to meet the commission's desire to obtain a fuller idea of how the Soviet-U.S. treaty has been received in the world. The Soviet Union is formulating its position on the question of eliminating nuclear weapons in close cooperation with its allies. Therefore, after the speech by G.I. Gerasimov, USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman, the floor was given to the representatives of the countries directly affected by the conclusion of the aforementioned treaty—the CSSR and the GDR.

After reporting that the withdrawal of the Soviet operational-tactical missiles OTR-22 from the territory of these countries has been completed, the envoys from the fraternal states' parliaments talked about the CSSR and GDR peoples' full support for the Soviet Union's policy.

"We fully support the efforts being developed by the Soviet Union to ensure that the disarmament process initiated with the signing of the treaty in Washington continues with the adoption of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments and the signing of agreements on the complete prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons, the cessation of nuclear tests, and conventional arms reduction," V. Stafek, CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium member, stated.

W. Weichelt, GDR People's Chamber Constitution and Law Commission chairman, stressed in turn that the GDR, which is profoundly committed to the cause of eliminating nuclear weapons and other systems of mass destruction, resolutely supports the USSR's actions.

Great attention was paid to the speech by Prof F. von Hippel, chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, which unites 40,000 U.S. scientists. The treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, he said, is a great achievement for all those who fought for it. We have advanced along the path toward trust between our countries and have laid the foundations for further steps in this direction.

The representatives of the peace-loving forces of the FRG, Finland, and Britain pointed out that the Soviet-U.S. accord has also been welcomed in their countries by broad strata of the population. The thought that it is not enough to secure ratification of the treaty ran through all the speeches. Following this event the devotees of peace must step up their efforts and advance the cause of nuclear disarmament further.

V.V. Tereshkova, chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, expounded the opinion of the Soviet public in her speech.

A broad panorama of universal support for the Soviet-U.S. agreement emerged from all the speeches. The process of creating favorable conditions for the ratification of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is continuing to gather speed.

Further on Envoys

PM281149 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Mar 88 First Edition p 5

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin and Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov report: "The Planet's Hopes and Anxieties"]

[Text] The attention of participants in the latest session of the Preparatory Commission, the working organ of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' foreign affairs commissions, focused on reaction abroad to the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles abroad.

The Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles affects the interests of virtually all people on our planet, which is overloaded with mountains of nuclear weapons. The signing of the treaty marked the beginning of the process of mankind's advance toward a safe world. But this process cannot advance by itself. Only energetic efforts by people all over the planet can ensure a continuous advance toward ridding mankind of the threat of nuclear destruction. This idea was repeatedly heard at the latest session of the Preparatory Commission, the working organ of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' foreign affairs commissions, held in the Kremlin 24 March. The session was devoted to studying the opinion of foreign statesmen and politicians and the world public on the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

Addressing the session, G. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, stated that the treaty was, on the whole, approved abroad as a breakthrough toward a real reduction in nuclear arsenals, as the first step toward actual disarmament. Western leaders, he stressed, note that the treaty is important both in itself and also because it paves the way to a nuclear-free world and serves as a precedent for subsequent arms reduction agreements. But something else is also clear: Some people would like to emasculate the treaty's essence by so-called "compensations" and the "modernization" of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. The danger of such intentions cannot be overlooked.

Keen interest was shown in the speeches by representatives of the supreme organs of state power of the CSSR and the GDR, states which are directly affected by the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

The signing of the treaty should be perceived as a specific result of the new thinking in international politics, V. Stafek, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly Chamber of Nations Foreign Affairs Committee, said in his speech. Czechoslovakia lies along the line of contact between the two powerful military-political groupings. It is extremely interested in the easing of tension in Europe and in the elimination of nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons. People in our country are worried by the desire of certain NATO circles to embark on the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons, which does not at all conform with the spirit of the incipient process of improvement in East-West relations.

A similar assessment of the plans to modernize nuclear systems was also made by W. Weichelt, chairman of the GDR People's Chamber Constitution and Law Committee. He emphasized that the concept of nuclear deterrence must be rejected since it is contrary to the peoples' desire for peace.

Addressing those assembled, Von Hippel, president of the Federation of American Scientists and member of the Board of Directors of the International Foundation "For the Survival and Development of Mankind," stressed that international security, including U.S. security, has strengthened and the political base for subsequent agreement has expanded as a result of the signing of the treaty. In other words, the Soviet-U.S. treaty can be seen as a triumph for those who are struggling to prevent nuclear war.

The peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union plays a decisive role, W. Henner, chairman of the antifascist organization "Flowers for Stuckenbrock" (FRG), declared. Many people in our country, who previously believed that disarmament was utopia, are now becoming convinced that disarmament can become reality thanks to the Soviet leadership's consistency and resolute actions. At the same time, there must be no illusions regarding the complexities of this process. Bellicose circles within NATO will not yield their positions, the sources of war have not disappeared, and imperialism has not changed its nature. Peace is strong only to the extent that people make it strong, to the extent that they are prepared to struggle for it.

Statements in a similar spirit were made by V. Tereshkova, chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and other participants in the session. Summing up its results, Preparatory Commission Chairman G. Korniyenko said that foreign public opinion is very important for the formulation of conclusions in the Supreme Soviet regarding the treaty's ratification.

Commission's Work Detailed

PM281545 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[B. Ivanov report: "Discussion of the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles Continues"]

[Text] What is the attitude of people in the world toward the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles? How do official circles in foreign countries assess the treaty, and what do representatives of various sections of the international public think about it? A routine session of the Preparatory Commission—the working organ of the foreign affairs commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet—held in the Kremlin 24 March was devoted to a discussion of these questions. This commission was set up 9 February to carefully study all questions connected with the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Parliamentarians of the GDR and the CSSR—socialist states directly affected by the treaty—and also representatives of a number of foreign public organizations participated in the commission's work.

Addressing the session, G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, described how the signing of the treaty has been perceived by the governments of other countries. He said that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles enjoys approval practically everywhere abroad. Concerning the reaction to the treaty on the part of Western countries which are U.S. allies, G.I. Gerasimov pointed out that a common appraisal on this score was formulated at the NATO Council session at the level of heads of state and government in March. The declaration adopted there points out that the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is aimed at achieving a more reliable peace and a lower level of arms.

The treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is an important step on the path toward realizing the highly humane program for creating a nuclear-free world by the end of the millennium, which the USSR advanced 15 January 1986, V. Stafek, CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium member, declared in his speech. He and W. Weichelt, chairman of the GDR People's Chamber Constitution and Law Committee, who addressed the session, particularly pointed out that the CSSR and the GDR are prepared to take all the necessary measures to ensure verification by U.S. inspectors of the fulfillment of the provisions of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles at Soviet military installations located on these states' territories.

V.V. Tereshkova, chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, briefed those assembled on how the treaty has been perceived by the public of foreign countries. She said that the overwhelming

majority of the international public is aware of the historic significance of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and advocates its speediest ratification.

Great interest was aroused among those present by the speeches of Von Hippel, president of the Federation of American Scientists Foundation; W. Henner, chairman of the antifascist organization "Flowers for Stuckenbrock" (FRG); and representatives of a number of other foreign public organizations. To sum up their statements, it may be said that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is important as a first and necessary step on the way to real disarmament, reduces the possibility of nuclear war, and creates a good precedent for the conclusion of new agreements eliminating nuclear and conventional arms.

Summing up the Preparatory Commission session, Deputy G.M. Korniyenko, its chairman, gave an assurance that all the opinions aired will be carefully analyzed and taken into account when compiling the commission's report.

U.S-Soviet Dialogue Acquires 'Dynamic Nature'
PM291109 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent L. Koryavin dispatch: "Gamble on Trust"]

[Text] Washington—Soviet-U.S. relations are acquiring a dynamic nature and the form of permanent contacts and, consequently, they have broad prospects. Precisely this can be heard nowadays at the White House and U.S. State Department press departments. These conclusions have formed the main thread of articles by many newspaper commentators and analytical reviews by the country's leading television companies.

Geneva... Reykjavik... Washington... Finally, in the very near future, Moscow, to where U.S. President R. Reagan will make an official visit at the end of May. The meetings between the two states' leaders have paved the way to further mutual understanding. They have also brought practical results—a treaty on the elimination of an entire class of missiles has been signed for the first time in history. Contacts between the leaders of the Soviet and U.S. foreign policy departments have become permanent.

The just ended U.S. visit of E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, and his meetings and talks with U.S. President R. Reagan and Secretary of State G. Shultz were an important stage in the continuing Soviet-U.S. dialogue. It was the 23d meeting between E.A. Shevardnadze and G. Shultz in 2 and 1/2 years.

Commentators point out in their assessments that the diplomatic dialogues are assuming an increasingly representative nature. The meetings of the leaders of the two countries' foreign policy departments are working together with the mechanism of authoritative experts preparing specific questions for discussion. These are, above all, questions of arms control, nuclear tests, the SDI program, and conventional arms. Regional problems, human rights issues, and other humanitarian questions are being discussed. Bilateral interstate relations between the USSR and the United States are also on the agenda.

An important conclusion by commentators: At the present stage of Soviet-U.S. relations questions of arms control occupy the central and, probably, the chief place in the debate. This is a fundamental difference from the previous time. Those same veterans of the Washington journalist corps point out that, whereas previously any news conference would begin with questions about "human rights," say, and frequently with artificially created problems in our relations, it now begins and ends with questions of disarmament. These are the chief topic of today's debate.

Assessing the just ended latest round of Soviet-U.S. talks in Washington, commentators point out that it was difficult and left a whole number of problems unresolved. It is impossible to disagree with this. There really are considerable complexities at the talks. They are difficult talks. But the tendency to mutually seek points of contact is also noticeable (and many participants in the talks point to it). When disagreements arise, it is, above all, the essence of the problem that is analyzed, and not its propaganda veneer. This frequently provides an opportunity either to formulate a compromise option or to prove to an opponent the importance of the problem under discussion.

The question of drawing up a treaty to eliminate 50 percent of strategic offensive arms is now on the agenda. The specific date for signing it is not indicated. But very active work on it is continuing at various levels. THE NEW YORK TIMES points out that "the prospect of a treaty still remains unclear." But the newspaper emphasizes that "Reagan is going to Moscow to hold talks on disarmament" thereby emphasizing once again that this has become the chief topic in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

Questions of verifying and monitoring the corresponding treaties and also the thesis of Soviet "superiority" in conventional arms remain an active weapon in the hands of opponents of an accord in the arms control series. But the artificial barriers are beginning to tumble here, too.

The Senate Committee on Intelligence of the U.S. Congress has just adopted a report from which this chief conclusion follows: "The United States has all the potential for effective monitoring and verification of observance of fulfillment of the treaty on intermediate- and

shorter-range missiles." When the Nuclear Risk Reduction Center opened at the U.S. State Department this week, like the one in Moscow, I was standing next to Senator Sam Nunn at the ceremony. Like Senator John Warner, he was most active on the U.S. side to open up "information channels of trust" between Washington and Moscow. Commentators pointed out that in this instance there was positive cooperation between the legislative and executive authorities.

Sam Nunn has repeatedly raised the question of verification and inspection and also reserved his attitude toward the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. But his position is now beginning to change. The senator said that he sees more positive points in the treaty than shortcomings. He believes that the opening of the centers in Moscow and Washington is a good tool both for reducing the risk of nuclear confrontation and for monitoring fulfillment of the provisions of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The largely artificial "inspection" factor is now shifting in the direction of the treaty being prepared on strategic offensive arms. Arrows of mistrust are starting to be aimed at it. But, like the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the future agreement is also subject to monitoring, and it will undoubtedly stand the test of time, as the first treaty in history on the elimination of an entire class of missiles is already doing.

In short, many problems remain in the arms control sphere. But this complex process has still gotten moving. Truth is starting to be born of arguments. Dialogues and contacts go together with a climate of trust. The just ended meeting in Washington has shown this. As the ancient Romans used to say: "The die is cast." A gamble has been made on the planet's survival.

Armed Services Committee Votes INF Approval

LD291240 Moscow TASS in English 1214 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 29 TASS—The U.S. Senate Committee on Armed Services has voted 18 to 2 to recommend approving the Soviet-U.S. treaty on scrapping intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. At the same time, the committee members expressed the view that the administration should present clarifications on a number of issues related to the treaty before it is submitted to the consideration of the full Senate.

The cause of concern for the committee members is, among others, the issue of what weapons system based on new physical principles should be banned or allowed by the treaty that envisages the elimination of ballistic and cruise ground-based intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. At issue are possible future intermediate-range systems using laser, particle beam or microwave weapons components.

NATO, Pact Conventional Forces Outlined

PM241243 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 12, 20 Mar 88 p 6

[Lev Semeyko article: "Once More About Asymmetry"]

[Text] Now that there is a chance of reducing the nuclear threat, the subject of the non-nuclear military threat has become much more acute. Indeed, tanks remain and their role may increase as nuclear warheads are destroyed. But let's admit that East-West anxieties are mutual.

The main thing, as we consider it, is not that some country is stronger in one or another type of armament but that non-nuclear confrontation in Europe is so vast that no one can feel sufficiently safe. Even the geographic disproportion between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO does not change the situation in this sphere; it is really in favour of the East. From the border dividing both alliances of states it is farther to Minsk or Kiev than to London or Paris. But this is nothing for the East to get carried away about. In June, 1941, the Germans had further to go to these cities than we had to Koenigsberg, but in October German tanks were near Moscow. The surprise attack and the general superior forces of the aggressor account for this fact.

Does one side have superiority today? Here are the latest data from the London International Institute of Strategic Studies: 2,385,000 NATO regular troops are deployed against the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, numbering 2,292,000. According to Soviet estimates NATO has 94 divisions in combat readiness (including France and Spain), the Warsaw Treaty Organization has 78 divisions. American divisions have half again as many soldiers as Soviet divisions, and West German divisions—nearly twice as many. According to Western estimates, in the postwar period the Warsaw Treaty Organization staged fewer major war games than NATO. Over 250,000 soldiers are involved in annual NATO exercises, that is twice as many as the number of soldiers participating in the biggest Warsaw Treaty exercises. Neither does the East feel that secure about the U.S.-NATO strategic concept of dealing hard blows from the beginning of the likely conflict.

The East's tanks represent a "conventional" threat to the West. The following figures are given to prove this: the Warsaw Treaty has nearly twice as many tanks as NATO. True they admit that most of them are obsolete models, while tank forces are scattered from the Elbe to Vladivostok. But, all the same, they allege, tanks are offensive weapons. On the other hand, more than 18,000 tanks are aimed at the East. Together with the tanks in European depots the total number is 30,000 tanks. Then NATO has great superiority in antitank weapons.

The Warsaw Treaty is prepared to eliminate its surplus tanks. But NATO, too, must eliminate its tactical air force superiority. According to American estimates the

Warsaw Treaty has 2,300 and NATO 3,450 fighter bombers and attack aircraft, and 2,900 combat and transport helicopters as against 7,250 in NATO. Both sides admit NATO air force superiority in terms of flight range and the tonnage of bombs and missiles they carry.

However for the time being the Warsaw Treaty and NATO are not exchanging official information about the composition of their armed forces in Europe; nor have they come to any agreement on this information. Therefore, statements about the balance of forces cannot be regarded as absolute truth. But this truth must be established. As it was agreed upon in Vienna, we must start dialogue within the framework of the European process this year. In order to establish military stability in Europe the whole package of problems regarding limitation and reduction of armaments, conventional as well as tactical nuclear, must be discussed. The plans to compensate for eliminated U.S. Euro-missiles do not exactly conform to the model of nuclear and conventional deterrence. It is a delayed-action bomb. Building up nuclear forces while planning cuts in conventional armaments does not mean a reduction in the level of military confrontation. A nuclear-free world with a minimum of purely defensive weapons is the only reasonable aim.

The Warsaw Treaty countries have proposed the way to such a world. The first step is mutual and simultaneous elimination of various surplus conventional weapons without upsetting the general balance of forces, followed by reduction of armed forces to approximately 500,000 servicemen on each side over a 5-7-year period. Finally, a minimum level of conventional forces should be maintained, ruling out not only sudden attack but also wide-scale offensive operations.

Pershing-2 Missile Launchings Bring Criticism
LD260054 Moscow International Service in Czech 1600 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] The United States recently tested five intermediate-range Pershing-2 missiles at Cape Canaveral in Florida. The CNN television network reports that the test was carried out with training [ucebni] warheads by U.S. NATO troops permanently based in the FRG. We would like to remind you that Pershing-2's are intermediate-range missiles that must be destroyed according to the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and short-range missiles.

We have here the military reporter of Moscow radio, Colonel Eduard Asaturov:

[Begin Asaturov recording in Russian fading into Czech translation] When I was watching the television showing of the launch of these missiles, I thought of a report at a news conference the same day from the Central Asian military group in the USSR. It described in detail the process of elimination of the Soviet operational-tactical missiles which were brought from the GDR and the CSSR to Kazakhstan prior to ratification of the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. I was thinking how different now is the fate of the Soviet and U.S. missile troops. The Soviet soldiers said a cordial good-bye to their Czechoslovak and German friends and returned home. They unloaded containers with missiles from rail cars, carefully placed them on open ground, and started with the practical preparation of their elimination. In short: The missiles will be scrapped. The soldiers perhaps feel sorry to say good-bye to military equipment which was a part of their military service for many years and months, which they carefully studied, learned how to use, and carefully maintained. The missiles played their role. The knowledge gained and the experience will not now be necessary to a large extent, like these missiles. An order is, however, an order and Soviet soldiers understand well that behind it is a serious political decision of Soviet leadership, approved after the agreement with the governments of the CSSR and the GDR. Europe must be cleared of these missiles. They are cleared from Czechoslovakia, and the former missile base in the GDR will become a leisure center for working people. This is one approach. And the second one?

The Pershing-2 tests just carried out make it possible to claim that the attitude of the United States to this issue is different. The United States obviously thinks that the time when the missile servicemen should start to prepare for changes in their life has not yet come. On the contrary, the soldiers of the 56th Field Artillery, equipped with Pershing-2's, were brought from the FRG to the United States to be trained further in launching missiles, as launching is the highest stage of preparation of artillery troops.

I want to make several assumptions on this base: In the United States a decision was made to gain before the destruction of the Pershing-2 more knowledge by testing them. This could be useful for building new missile systems not included in the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

Is this step not a reflection of the U.S. effort to preserve their intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in military service at least until the last moment set by the treaty on the elimination of these weapons?

I do not think that the decision to test the U.S. missiles was in this case approved only by military authorities. In my view, the Pershing-2 launchings is a demonstrative step by the U.S. Administration, however not toward disarmament but in the opposite direction. [end recording]

International Role in Chemical Arms Ban Urged
NC261250 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Commentary by Aleksey Zlatorunskiy entitled: "Chemical Weapons Should Be Declared Illegal"]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has given a news conference on the results of his visit to the United States and his talks with U.S. officials. He said that under the accord reached recently, a draft of a joint statement by the two countries, in which a ban on chemical weapons was agreed upon, was submitted to the United States. The Soviet Union hopes that the U.S. and Soviet leaders will be able to present this statement publicly during the U.S. President's upcoming visit to Moscow.

Everyone is aware that the Soviet Union has consistently campaigned for a complete ban on chemical weapons and for the elimination of existing stocks. In addition, the Soviet Union upholds the principle that chemical weapons are one of the most savage weapons, the more so since they are generally used against defenseless civilians. The mention of a few instances will serve to illustrate this.

The United States made extensive use of poisonous chemicals in its aggression against Vietnam on the pretext of destroying the forests which served as hideouts for the partisans [preceding word in English]. A large number of Vietnamese, most of whom were minors or elderly persons, were killed or maimed as a result. Fruit trees which had been aerially sprayed with toxic chemicals continued to yield poisonous fruit for years afterward, thus endangering lives. In their repression of the Palestinian protesters in the occupied areas, the Zionist Israeli usurpers are using U.S.-manufactured tear gas which is particularly lethal, and several children have been killed by asphyxiation or lung infections they have contracted as a result.

If we were to assume, in addition to the flames of the war of the tankers and the war of the cities already raging in the Persian Gulf, a chemical war were also to break out, it would be difficult even to imagine the catastrophic repercussions for the warring countries, and the region in general, that could ensue. Recent reports by the mass media have spawned the fear that the extensive use of chemical weapons in the Iran-Iraq war is increasingly possible. What then would be the (?way out) of such a dreadful situation?

We believe chemical weapons should be declared illegal everywhere and for all time. The international community should play a very major role in this regard. UN efforts can only come to fruition if all members display a sincere and realistic attitude. It is natural that they should (?do so), particularly with regard to Iran and Iraq.

Pact Foreign Ministers Meeting Previewed

LD281454 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent writes:

Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, arrived in Sofia to attend the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member states. The agenda of the Foreign Ministers' Committee meeting, opening tomorrow, is extensive, however it will, certainly, give center stage to the information on the results of the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Washington. It has become a tradition that the Soviet side informs its allies in the Warsaw Treaty about its foreign policy activity.

"It can be said that the Soviet Union, in conducting negotiations with the United States on the problem of nuclear-missile disarmament, acts in line with the Warsaw Treaty mandate", Vadim Loginov, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, said in this connection. "For under discussion in Moscow and Washington is the problem of comprehensive security. It directly affects not only the USSR and the United States, but also the interests of the entire mankind".

The attention of the participants in the meeting will be called also to the issues relating to the Vienna meeting, where work is in progress on elaborating a mandate for future negotiations on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. The final document of the recent NATO Council session in Brussels maintained that it is essential to devise a programme for slashing conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe.

Meanwhile, the Warsaw Treaty countries way back in June 1986, at the session of the Political Consultative Committee, came up with a specific programme for a drastic reduction in armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. One has to state that no specific proposals on this score came from NATO countries.

One cannot say that the Vienna meeting landed in an impasse, but movement ahead in its work is much slower than is desired by all people in Europe. The Soviet side sees the reason behind the delay in the Vienna meeting in that several NATO countries do not abandon attempts to get the CSCE process stalled on the issues of emigration and human rights in their biased interpretation, ignoring other military-political, trade, scientific and many humanitarian aspects of cooperation and security on the continent.

A vast amount of chemical weapons has been piled up on the European continent, which cannot fail to arouse anxiety of the socialist countries' leadership. In view of this, the meeting in Sofia will address the work of the Geneva conference on disarmament where the elaboration of a universal convention on banning and destroying chemical weapons and the base for their production is the key item on its agenda today.

Meeting Opens in Sofia

LD290824 Moscow TASS in English 0742 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia March 29 TASS—The Foreign Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries opened a regular session here today.

The agenda includes pressing issues of strengthening European and global security. Prime attention will be paid to the tasks of furthering the CSCE process and reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

The foreign ministers will also examine ways of consolidating positive trends in the international situation, stemming from the signature of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the abolition of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

Shevardnadze Addresses Ministers

LD290743 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0658 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia, 29 Mar (TASS)—A meeting of the foreign ministers of Warsaw Pact member states who have come for a routine session of the Foreign Ministers' Committee has been held here.

Eduard Shevardnadze thoroughly informed those taking part in the meeting on his talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and on his conversation with U.S. President Ronald Reagan, which took place in Washington 21-23 March this year.

The ministers of the allied states expressed deep satisfaction with the work done by the Soviet side at the talks with U.S. representatives. It was noted that definite progress was achieved during preparation for the forthcoming meeting in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, and that further substantial progress is required at talks for the new Soviet-U.S. summit to culminate with important practical results.

They were unanimous in their support for the USSR's efforts aimed at completing as quickly as possible elaboration of a treaty on reducing and limiting strategic offensive weapons while observing the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and not withdrawing from it during the period agreed, preferably so that the treaty could be signed during the next meeting between the leaders of the USSR and the United States.

The ministers spoke in favor of very quickly concluding the elaboration of a convention on completely banning and eliminating chemical weapons which would be subject to effective verification [kontrol]. They expressed the hope that existing agreements between the USSR and the United States on limiting nuclear tests would come into force very soon as a first step along the way to banning them completely.

While attributing prime significance to the task of reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, they stated the readiness of Warsaw Pact member states to carry out an open exchange of data on the number of armed forces and weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The importance of further developing and deepening Soviet-U.S. dialogue to stop the arms race and promote disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, to consolidate the foundations of international security and to expand peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation between states was stressed.

Shevardnadze Meets Zhivkov

LD281752 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1651 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia, 28 Mar (TASS)—T. Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, today received E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, who has come to Sofia in connection with the meeting of the Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states.

On behalf of M.S. Gorbachev the visitor conveyed cordial greetings and best wishes. For his part T. Zhivkov expressed fraternal greetings and best wishes to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

A warm and friendly conversation took place on questions concerning Soviet-U.S. relations, East-West relations, and the struggle of the socialist countries for peace, security, and disarmament.

Then the USSR foreign minister met with the BCP Central Committee Politburo. He informed them about the results of his talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and about his conversations with the U.S. President, which took place on 21-23 March 1988 in Washington.

During the meeting satisfaction was expressed with the progress achieved in relations between the USSR and the United States and between East and West. The BCP Central Committee Politburo unanimously supported the efforts of the Soviet leadership aimed at completing work on coordinating a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in the strategic nuclear potentials of the USSR and the United States, while observing the ABM Treaty with no withdrawal from it during the agreed period. The BCP Central Committee Politburo considers that the signing of a treaty during the forthcoming meeting in Moscow between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and U.S. President R. Reagan, would be the logical conclusion of these efforts.

During the conversation the common view was expressed of the need to step up the efforts of the socialist countries and of all peace-loving and democratic forces to impart to the process of real disarmament that has begun an irreversible and forward-moving character. Also discussed were the prospects for implementing the large-scale initiatives of the Warsaw Pact member states on questions of peace, disarmament, security, and cooperation.

E.A. Shevardnadze was informed about the development of the processes of restructuring and renewal in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and about the foreign-policy efforts of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the cause of strengthening security and confidence and in the development of cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and in the world.

Several questions of bilateral relations were also examined at the meeting. A high assessment was given of the level of mutual cooperation in all fields, and the desire of both sides for its further expansion and deepening and for implementation of a policy of all-round rapprochement of the two fraternal countries was stresssd.

The meeting confirmed the complete coincidence of positions on the questions under discussion.

Kashlev Discusses Status of Vienna CSCE Talks

PM290837 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Mar 88 Second Edition p 6

[Article by Yuriy Kashlev, head of the USSR delegation at the CSCE meeting in Vienna: "Honest Approach Needed"; article forms part of a feature under the general heading "Two Views on a Problem," which also includes an abbreviated reprint of U.S. delegation leader Zimmerman's 7 March Vienna DIE PRESSE article on the same subject]

[Text] The latest stage of the Vienna meeting, which lasted 52 weeks, that is to say exactly 1 year, discounting a few recesses, has ended. That was quite sufficient for our dynamic time. Mutual understanding was reached on a number of questions under discussion, but many others have not yet been agreed, nor has a final document for the meeting been drawn up. What, then, is the reason for the slow progress of the talks?

A number of Western delegations consider that the representatives of socialist states are not showing readiness to assume new commitments in Vienna in the sphere of human contacts and human rights in line with the demands of the present day, that without this, the all-European process remains "static," and that the political realities in Europe "are not changing for the better."

We see the reason for the holdup in the work at the Vienna meeting as lying elsewhere, in the fact that a number of leading NATO countries are in no way abandoning their attempts to deform the nature and aims of the all-European process to ensure that it be confined exclusively to questions of exit visas and human rights in their prejudiced interpretation, while ignoring other questions—military-political, trade, scientific, and many humanitarian aspects of security and cooperation on the continent.

Let us look, for example, at the military-political problems examined in the Austrian capital. Socialist and indeed many other neutral and small NATO countries there proposed that the Vienna meeting be immediately followed by a resumption of the work of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (its first stage was held in Stockholm in 1984-1986) and that it draw up a new package of confidence-building measures in the military sphere. Leading NATO countries have for many months now refused to sign an accord prolonging the conference, seeking to revise its mandate and even its title, from which they highhandedly remove the key word "disarmament." We propose applying confidence-building measures in the spirit of M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Murmansk and recent speech in Belgrade to independent naval (and air force) activity in maritime and ocean regions adjoining Europe, but NATO members refuse.

A different situation is taking shape at the Vienna meeting with regard to the accords in the Helsinki second basket. There already exists a draft text for inclusion in the final document, a number of provisions, particularly concerning environmental protection have been agreed, and proposals to hold major all-European forums on economics, trade, and science are being examined. However, certain NATO countries, headed by the United States, are stubbornly opposing the expansion and concretization of spheres of East-West scientific and technical cooperation and the elimination of artificial barriers and embargoes in the spirit of the notorious COCOM, whose list of goods the sale of which is banned to socialist countries includes around 300,000 items! Is this really consonant with the Helsinki spirit?

It is clear from the aforementioned that key problems of security and cooperation are the subject of examination in Vienna, and it is precisely here that the approaches of the different groups of countries to Europe's present and future clash.

This in no way means ignoring or underestimating what has been dubbed in Vienna the humanitarian dimension of the Helsinki process, this being particularly true of the Soviet Union.

The socialist countries have made a number of specific proposals in Vienna aimed at expanding contacts between institutions and people.

The Soviet delegation at the Vienna meeting has kept participants constantly informed about the measures we are taking to expand and safeguard human rights and improve relations among nationalities, which are the constant focus of party and government attention.

Unfortunately, the position adopted by many Western countries in these questions is characterized by double standards. While verbally championing human rights and unrestricted contacts, they refuse to accept the socialist countries' aforementioned proposals or assume commitments in the sphere of social and economic rights.

During the whole time of the Vienna meeting not a single Western country has recorded any improvement in the position regarding human rights and contacts. Moreover, the United States, in particular, has not during this time subscribed to international pacts on human rights or most other universal documents in this sphere.

...When at one of the first sessions of the Vienna meeting the representatives of the United States, Britain, and Canada stated that the aim of the all-European process was to change the political realities of Europe, we asked what realities they had in mind? If it is proposed to change the reality that a whole number of European states are socialist, this is a highly dangerous, if not futile venture.

If, however, it is intended to improve the political situation in Europe by strengthening the security of all the peoples, their economic cooperation, and contacts among people, then the Vienna meeting really can and must make its contribution to such a process. This demands honest stances, the repudiation of double standards, and a readiness to collaborate in the spirit of the new thinking.

M. Ponomarev Reviews Recent World Developments
PM281531 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

["Military-Political Review" by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer M. Ponomarev: "From Confrontation to Dialogue"]

[Text] An unscheduled event took place last Wednesday in Washington. Mass media representatives were unexpectedly invited to the White House lawn. U.S. President R. Reagan and USSR Foreign Minister E. Shevardnadze came out to them. The head of the U.S. Administration made a statement to the gathering. It was short—only two or three sentences. The President announced that the date for the next U.S.-Soviet summit had been set. This meeting will take place in Moscow 29 May-2 June.

The significance of this statement far outweighs its length. It means that the latest landmark has emerged on the difficult path from confrontation to dialogue between the two great powers—the Soviet Union and the United States. A new peak is revealing itself from where future prospects not only for developing Soviet-U.S. relations but also for resolving a number of the most important problems of world development are to be determined.

Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and now Moscow—these are the steps along this path. It is a difficult path abounding with steep ascents and giddy slopes. It has demanded very great efforts from both sides, the rejection of old stereotypes, and the search for new approaches. It has already led to the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This treaty reflects more than the two sides' coincidence of approaches and positions on a question of extreme importance for the fate of mankind. It is also an indicator of the profound radical changes now taking place in Soviet-U.S. relations and in international life in general.

New progress on this path has been achieved in the course of the talks which the USSR foreign minister has been conducting in Washington. His meeting with G. Shultz was the 23d in the last 2 and 1/2 years. This fact in itself indicates the intensity of the dialogue. Each one of these meetings was devoted to seeking solutions, although, to be fair, I must say that it was not always possible to find them. New elements would crop up and new conditions would be put forward which by no means helped us to achieve practical results. But the sense of realism and the USSR's firm desire to implement a policy in line with the demands of the time triumphed.

This was also the case this time. The state of Soviet-U.S. relations and the tasks for the next few months in the sphere of arms limitation and reduction, human rights and humanitarian questions, regional problems, and bilateral questions were discussed in detail in Washington. Particular attention was devoted to preparing a treaty on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments while complying with the ABM Treaty.

Both sides have a colossal arsenal of such armaments. The USSR has 2,494 strategic carriers, and the United States has 2,260. The Soviet Union has approximately 10,000 nuclear charges on them, and the United States has approximately 14,000-16,000. Unresolved key questions associated with limiting these arsenals to a maximum of 6,000 charges each were examined. The delegations conducting the talks in Geneva have been tasked with speeding up preparation of a joint draft agreement regarding the observance of the ABM Treaty. By and large the situation is now such that it will be possible to achieve in the near future mutually acceptable solutions on a number of fundamental questions. There is a discernible prospect that a treaty on reductions in strategic offensive armaments may be signed during the summit at the end of May or the beginning of June if both sides show the political will. The Soviet Union is not lacking this will. The main thing now is to keep up the pace that has been set and not to waste time.

During E.A. Shevardnadze's talks in Washington, progress was made on the entire spectrum of problems under review, although this progress was not great enough in all areas. But the talks have brought indisputable success. On what is this based? Of course, the definite realization in U.S. public and political circles of the need to improve relations with the USSR. However, the main thing is the dynamism of the Soviet Union's foreign policy and the new political thinking on which it is based. This clearly emerged during the course of M.S. Gorbachev's recent official friendly visit to Yugoslavia.

This visit was a very important political event in Soviet-Yugoslav relations, and it strengthened the atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding between the two countries. But its significance is not confined to this. M.S. Gorbachev's talks with Yugoslav leaders and his speech in the SFRY Federal Assembly made it possible for the world public to see once again the Soviet Union's principled, consistent policy in the international arena and its enterprising, creative approach to the resolution of acute problems. Additional proposals were put forward which are geared to consolidating the peace and security of the peoples of Europe, the Mediterranean basin, and the entire world.

The meeting between Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister, and U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci in Bern must be regarded as evidence of the dynamism of Soviet foreign policy. This was an unprecedented meeting which would have been unthinkable in previous years. In going to this meeting the Soviet side was proceeding from the premise that the success of the new thinking, especially in the military sphere, cannot be achieved without comparing military doctrines and without profoundly revealing the aims and intentions of both states and the military-political alliances of which they are members. During their conversations, the ministers endeavored to seek points of contact. Both sides started from the understanding that military rivalry between the USSR and the United States threatens everyone. Hence, the desire to help improve mutual understanding on military aspects of Soviet-U.S. relations.

Such a development of events could only be welcomed. But at the same time, we cannot fail to see that a consolidation is under way of the reactionary, extreme anti-Soviet forces in the West and the imperialist powers' militarist circles. Their actions can in no way serve to normalize the international situation. On the contrary, they are channeled toward undermining positive development trends and returning to the times of confrontation.

There are many examples of this. On the day that talks began between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state, servicemen from the 56th Field Artillery Command permanently stationed in the FRG tested five Pershing-2 missiles at Cape Canaveral in Florida. The very missiles which are subject to destruction in accordance with the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed last December. Is this a coincidence or a premeditated action? And what is its purpose?

Another fact. U.S. Congressional committees are discussing plans for mounting an additional number of MX missiles on railroad trailers with the aim of transforming them into mobile missiles. It is intended that 50 such missiles will be mounted on 25 special trains. These trains must be in constant readiness to move out onto the railroad tracks with a view to boosting their survivability "in the event of a crisis." Plans to deploy Midgetman ICBM's, which are to supplement the U.S. strategic offensive arsenal in the nineties, are being discussed at the same time.

U.S. policy with regard to conflicts in various regions of the world evokes the serious misgivings of people. It is well known, for instance, that 56 percent of Americans oppose the continuation of further aid to the Nicaraguan contras. This has been shown by recent public opinion polls. However, the White House and the Pentagon are ignoring the opinion of their own country's citizens. Despite the fact that the Congress twice has recently refused to allocate funds for the contras, the administration is stubbornly continuing to insist on appropriations for these purposes. Moreover, although the Nicaraguan leadership has succeeded after great difficulties in securing direct talks between the Sandinist government and the contras on a cease-fire, a hysterical campaign has been unleashed in the United States in connection with the actions of the Sandinist People's Army against Somocistas entrenched near the Honduran border. This has not been confined to banner headlines and bellicose statements on television. Subunits of the U.S. 32d Airborne Division, numbering more than 3,000 men, have been hastily transferred to the territory of Honduras. U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers have been organized.

All this has been undertaken with a view to doing the utmost to exacerbate the situation in the region and foil the implementation of the Guatemala accords and the efforts of the Contadora group aimed at a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Central America.

Under these conditions the Soviet Union once again has confirmed its resolute support for a political settlement in the region by the Latin Americans' own efforts without interference from outside, on the basis of the Guatemala accords, and has expressed readiness to constructively assist their implementation. It is impossible to understand how Nicaragua can threaten the United States and the Western Hemisphere as a whole, as Washington endlessly asserts. It is impossible to agree with the absurd idea that the Soviet Union's actions are the cause of the conflict and an obstacle to a settlement. This is of no benefit to the USSR.

It seems that the forces of reason are succeeding in securing success even in such a complex situation as has emerged in Central America. In the course of direct talks, representatives of the Nicaraguan Government and contra formations have just reached agreement on a 60-day cease-fire. The dialogue between the sides will continue with a view to working out an agreement on a conclusive cease-fire.

Militarist circles are not only stirring up trouble in the Caribbean basin but also in other regions of the world, in particular the Asia-Pacific region. The joint U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit-88" maneuvers, which are of a clearly provocative nature, are unfolding here. More than 200,000 servicemen, including 60,000 U.S. personnel, are involved in these maneuvers. A DPRK Foreign Ministry statement points out that the "Team Spirit-88" maneuvers are per se a "rehearsal for an aggressive nuclear war."

All this cannot fail to provoke alarm. The Soviet Union is doing everything in its power to secure a world without weapons, violence, and wars. But the new thinking must be established throughout the world and new approaches to universal security must triumph to ensure this. Until this happens, the country's defense capability must be maintained at the requisite level.

New Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Committee

Kamentsev Addresses Forum

LD251632 Moscow TASS in English 2611 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—By TASS correspondents Gennadiy Gavrilenko and Dmitriy Polunin:

"The consolidation of goodneighbourly relations in the Asia-Pacific region is impossible without developing equitable relations between the USSR and the region's nations on a stable, mutually beneficial basis", Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has pointed out.

He was speaking here today, addressing a constituent conference of the Soviet National Committee for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (SNCAPEC).

Kamentsev read a message of greetings from Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The message said that the USSR, being an Asia-Pacific country, attached great importance to implementing ideas of Pacific economic cooperation in the interests of progress of all countries in the region and stability on earth.

The Soviet Union, using its economic, scientific and human potential, was ready to take part in joint ventures which could help make the life of peoples inhabiting this region more decent and safer, the message said.

The conference elected prominent representatives of government, economic, public and research institutions into the committee. Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economics and International Affairs, was elected chairman of the SNCAPEC.

The organisation is called upon to facilitate the all-round development of economic ties between the USSR and countries of the Asia-Pacific region, both at bilateral and regional levels, and the implementation of plans of the all-round development of the Far East, improvement of the economic and social situation in the entire vast region, the SNCAPEC chairman said at the conference.

The new organisation is to enhance trust in inter-state relations and serve the cause of peace, above all in handling the tasks advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev in his Vladivostok speech.

"We should firmly follow the path of developing international cooperation, including its major economic component. There is simply no other way," Primakov said.

Primakov Named Chairman

LD251807 Moscow TASS in English 1712 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—"The Soviet Union is very much interested in broadening and deepening relations at a bilateral and multilateral basis with countries in the Asia-Pacific region," Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economics and International Affairs at the USSR Academy of Sciences, said today.

He was addressing newsmen at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Centre on the occasion of the establishment of the Soviet National Committee for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (SNCAPEC), of which he was elected chairman.

As to the ASEAN nations, Primakov observed, "we are aware of the stability of integrational processes which are developing within that group of countries. We see their achievements and would like to maintain closer relations with them.

"The point at issue is invigorating the Soviet Union's participation in the international division of labour and the autonomous participation in this process of the Soviet Far East.

"The USSR would seek broader coastal and border trade, specifically with China, establishment of joint companies and use of other new forms that emerge thanks to the reorganisation of the foreign-trade and foreign-economic mechanisms in the USSR.

We make no exception for any countries in this region."

Replying to a question about South Korea, Ernest Obminskiy, head of the Directorate for International Economic Relations of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said that the USSR maintained no diplomatic relations, nor direct trade and economic ties with it.

"The development of international contacts does not rule out the emergence of conditions when exchanges could be carried out through international organisations and intermediary firms in several countries."

"The flow of goods and services is much internationalised at present, so it would be impossible to exclude the South Korean element," he pointed out.

"We attach top-priority importance to the study of problems that could substantially facilitate the economy of the Far East and its external ties," said the president of the Far Eastern Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Viktor Ilyichev.

"Soviet economists had several meetings with Japanese researchers and jointly sought to find common interests and map out ways for developing export interactions.

"The current pace of development in the Far East will be much faster if we use not only our own technologies, but also technologies developed in other countries, including in the Asia-Pacific region.

"Naturally, we intend to handle these questions with due account for the interests of the region's countries," Ilyichev said.

Ryzhkov Message Reported

PM291019 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[Message from N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers: "To the Participants in the Constituent Conference of the Soviet National Committee on Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation"]

[Text] On behalf of the Soviet Government, I greet the participants in the constituent conference of the Soviet National Committee on Asia-Pacific Cooperation, which is intended to unite scientists, practical workers, representatives of economic and political organizations and actively help to expand the USSR's economic, scientific, and technical ties with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region by their activity in the spirit of the new thinking.

As an Asian and Pacific state, the USSR attaches great importance to the implementation of the idea of Pacific cooperation in the interests of the progress of all the countries of this region and of stability and peace on earth.

The best foundation for developing international relations is equality, mutual respect, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage. It is precisely these aims, as Comrade M.S. Gorbachev pointed out in an interview with the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA, that the Soviet National Committee on Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation is to serve.

The countries of the Asia-Pacific region must ponder problems of ecology, power, health care, education, the development of the ocean's resources, and the utilization of space for economic purposes. It is difficult or totally impossible to resolve these problems alone or even in isolated groups. The Soviet Union, using its economic, scientific, and human potential, is ready to take part in joint projects, which will be able to make the life of the peoples of the Pacific states worthy and secure.

The dynamic development of the entire economy of the country, especially its eastern regions, must be the stable foundation for the USSR's active and truly broad participation in regional division of labor. The Soviet Far East has a great future, and the national committee's task consists in assisting its transformation into a highly developed region of the country by active work. Thus, old systems and stereotypes must be boldly rejected, new forms of cooperation sought, and the positive experience of other countries of the region adopted.

I wish all the participants in the constituent conference and all the members of the Soviet national committee fruitful work and success in expanding mutually advantageous cooperation and consolidating good-neighborliness between the USSR and other countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

WFTU Bureau Session Opens in Addis Ababa

LD291244 Moscow TASS in English 1208 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Text] Addis Ababa March 29 TASS—The 39th session of the Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) uniting 214 million workers from all over the world opened in the Ethiopian capital. The agenda of the session includes discussion of trade union tasks to strengthen security of nations under new conditions created by the signing of the Soviet-American INF treaty. Ibrahim Zakaria, general secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, emphasized at the opening of the session that all trends of the world-organized labour movement unanimously back the Soviet-American treaty and are for the continuation of the disarmament process.

Session participants will also express their opinions on issues of strengthening international solidarity with workers and peoples of Africa. The Soviet trade unions are represented at the forum by a delegation of the USSR Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) led by its secretary Gennadiy Yanayev.

United States & Canada

'Top Priority' Addresses Presidential Elections

LD192022 Moscow in English to North America 0001 GMT 19 Mar 88

['Top Priority' program, presented by Vladimir Pozner, with Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Dr Sergey Plekhanov, deputy directors of the United States of America and Canada Institute of Moscow, and Dr Robert Legvold, director of the Harriman Institute]

[Text] [Pozner] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. This is Vladimir Pozner presenting "Top Priority". I'm back after a month. It's a pleasure to be here. With me on the panel is Dr Radomir Bogdanov, Dr Sergey Plekhanov, and a guest, the director of the Harriman Institute, Dr Robert Legvold.

As far as I know, last time, you were discussing Super Tuesday which had not, the results had not, yet come in and you, Dr Bogdanov, said that you sided with Robert Dole. And when I heard that I had to laugh because when I'm in the United States I'm often asked: Well, who would you vote for? And I say I'm not going to tell you because that's the kiss of death. If a Soviet says I would go for so-and-so, he's not going to get elected [words indistinct]. So I think that perhaps the reason that Dole did so poorly in Super Tuesday may have been your statement that you would be for Robert Dole.

[Bogdanov] Er, no, no.

[Pozner] You don't think so?

[Bogdanov] No, no, no. Me, I believe that we should keep our promise to our American listeners that we will discuss a little bit Super Tuesday. You've been traveling a lot, Vladimir. You were absent from here. Maybe you don't know our very strong commitment. So OK, I can admit that my assessment was a wrong assessment at that stage of the primaries, but I still insist that we'd better wait till the end of the whole show. That's my point.

[Pozner] So you're sticking to your guns, right?

[Bogdanov] Well, well, whatever you say but I'm a man of principles.

[Pozner] True, true. Well, I don't think there's all that much to be said about Super Tuesday except that it looks like Vice President Bush seems secure....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] By the way, I wouldn't like to offend anybody at the American end, just as I have my principles it doesn't mean I am against Mr Bush or I am against Mr Dukakis or even somebody else. No. I just stick to my principles.

[Pozner] (?You're just) hedging your bets.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, exactly.

[Pozner] At any rate I think it's clear that Vice President Bush is going to get the Republican nomination whereas it is not clear who is going to be the Democratic candidate. Would you agree with that, Mr Legvold?

[Legvold] I think that's absolutely true. Things continue to be cloudy. They are likely to remain unclear until we get close to the Democratic convention. It might be interesting, though, for your American listeners to know how interested people in Moscow are in the likely outcome of the American elections. Already Soviet citizens and Soviet officials, Soviet academics are beginning to pay close attention to developments in the United States.

[Pozner] You've encountered that during your trip here?

[Legvold] No question of it. People were very much aware of so-called Super Tuesday, and interested in the implications of it. I think because we're getting close now to a change of administration and one wonders what the potential is in [word indistinct] U.S.-Soviet relations over the next 3-4 years. We no longer can think in terms of the next 6 months.

[Pozner] That's true. I think that perhaps the Presidency of Ronald Reagan has a lot to do with that because I recall back in 1980 many people here were asking is this new president going to change the relations between us? Is he going to affect our relationship and clearly, certainly did. So I think that that heightens the interest in what new president might appear on the scene and how that new administration might affect our relations...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] My, my! I'm very sorry but my point is a little bit different. Should we still so much think of the person who will become an American president? What I mean by that, should we be so much dependent on the personality of the next American president? My point is that this is a high time to build up a solid structure of the Soviet-American relations on which any future American president will operate.

[Pozner] Or a Soviet leader.

[Bogdanov] Or a Soviet leader will operate. Why we are so dependent on all that primaries? [sentence as heard] After all, this is American business, not ours. What is our business is solely Soviet-American relations.

[Pozner] Yes, but don't you think, Dr Bogdanov that the individual, the human being who becomes the president of the United States and very powerful figure, just as the leader of the Soviet Union is a very powerful figure, has his effect on the relationship regardless of the structure?

[Bogdanov] Yes, yes, no doubt it will, but I mean something more solid than just something subjective like somebody's effect.

[Pozner] OK, what about you, Dr Plekhanov? Do you feel that the subjective element is of lesser importance, shall we say?

[Plekhanov] Well, it depends, because there are what Antonio Gramsci called...

[Pozner, interrupting] You want to tell people who Antonio Gramsci is? I mean you're a very erudite person.

[Plekhanov] All right. Antonio Gramsci was the leader of the Italian Communist Party who died in Mussolini's prison in the late twenties. He was a great political theorist recognized throughout the world, not just by the Marxists. Anyway, he talked about historical crossings when, you know, history can flow this way or that way depending on a slight nudge from somebody or something. It could be an earthquake or it could be a different kind of leader. So I believe that personalities are important.

[Pozner] Do you also share that view?

[Legvold] It depends. Obviously at certain points personalities and political orientation have been crucial. The shift from the Carter administration to the Reagan administration was unmistakable, and largely because of the orientation of President Reagan and people around him at the time. But I would agree with Vladimir that we're moving now into a period where not only should it be less important, but in fact it will be less important. He and I had a conversation this past week in which we were projecting what's likely to happen in the next several years and I was arguing that there is every reason to be optimistic and the reason for my optimism is not because of a given political personality who's emerging in the United States, but what seems to me now to be basic trends in U.S.-Soviet relations. And I believe that no matter who's elected in the United States of the likely candidates, Bush, Dole, Dukakis, Gore, the others, that in fact this process will go forward not the least because of the changes that have already taken place in the Soviet Union. So for me in the 1990's, late 1980's, 1990's, the trends are more important than political personalities. But at the beginning of the 1980's personalities were important.

[Pozner] Tell me, Dr Bogdanov, do you share this optimism that regardless of who becomes the leader of the United States, the president, and regardless perhaps of changes that might happen in the Soviet Union in the sense of the evolution of leadership, that the future is, well, if not rosy at least positive?

[Bogdanov] I wouldn't like to compliment Dr Legvold, but I have very deep respect to him. But in that optimism I wish he were right, that's my point.

[Pozner] You hope he's right?

[Bogdanov] Yes, I hope he's right.

[Pozner] But you're not saying anything about what you think. Or are we to understand that you are not as optimistic? I mean you are the pessimist always in this group, you always have been.

[Bogdanov] Yes, I'm not as optimistic as he is. You know why? Not because I don't believe in the trends in the American policy, I just believe in some unpredictable possible developments that may spoil everything. And we have witnessed so many things in our...

[Legvold, interrupting] (?There's no question) of that. There's always the unexpected. But the American audience, I think, would be interested in the way in which the general secretary answered a question like that last week when we with a set of senators met with him. He was asked what he thought about the next 10 years in U.S.-Soviet relations and his response was very optimistic.

[Pozner] Was it really?

[Legvold] Yes.

[Pozner] Well, you know the story about the difference between an optimist and a pessimist, one of the many definitions concerns the glass of water that is half full, and you know, for the pessimist it's half empty and for the optimist it's half full, but I think the real answer is the dynamics, whether that glass is becoming fuller or whether that glass is becoming emptier. Now, Dr Plekhanov, how do you feel? Is the glass of Soviet-American relations becoming fuller? Is it something that you think is happening? Or, on the contrary?

[Plekhanov] No, it's certainly becoming fuller in the sense of relationships becoming more mature and more positive and more constructive. We've left behind a period of something like the second cold war, it turned to be a shorter version of the first one in the late forties and fifties, and I think that there is a whole range of factors, subjective factors, which do operate in favor of an improvement in Soviet-American relations. How far that improvement will go, what specific steps will be taken or not taken is still very much... [Plekhanov changes thought] Let me ask you the following question: Do you think that we can have an improvement of relations between the two countries without a change in the outlook, in the attitude of the man in the street? That is to say, if the man in the street in both countries has a very negative, suspicious, perhaps even fearful attitude toward the other side, is it possible to have an improvement of relations?

[Bogdanov] Vladimir, to my mind this is the basic, if you like, a major problem of the Soviet-American relations, and I would like to inform our American listeners that Bob Legvold who's present here had an exchange of remarks, comments with the secretary general...

[Pozner, interrupting] General secretary.

[Bogdanov] General secretary, I am sorry. He had exchange of remarks with him about that, exactly that. I would like to ask Bob what was it all about in your conversation with the general secretary? If it is possible.

[Legvold] No, no it's a pleasure. Well, I shared my view that one of the central problems we've had for the last 40 years is the way in which each side has thought about the source of the problem. And each side has believed that the heart of the problem was the character of the other side's system and way of thinking. In the case of the United States it goes back to George Kennan and the theory of containment, which assumed that the basic problem was either the nature of Soviet and Russian history or the character of the Soviet system, or the character of the Soviet values system, whereas in turn the Soviet Union over time has had an image of capitalism and imperialism that made it the heart of the problem. What's going on right now, especially in the Soviet Union, is a modernization of that concept, a realization that in fact there are possibilities for improved relations that are not necessarily fundamentally hindered by the nature of capitalism, the element of militarism within it or not, the extent to which the United States must inevitably seek to exploit the Third World. I'm speaking now about a Soviet perspective. And I think frankly that in the United States, especially under the impact of policies within the Soviet Union, the process of restructuring, democratization, glasnost, in the evolution of foreign policy under General Secretary Gorbachev's leadership that Americans, too, are beginning to reconsider their image of the enemy and as a result, the extent to which there are possibilities of a real change in U.S.-Soviet relations.

So one of the reasons I'm optimistic is because I believe the basis of the attitude of the man in the street, as you say, is changing. One should not underestimate the enormous impact that the current Soviet leadership, particularly General Secretary Gorbachev, has had on the average American. Every opinion poll demonstrates that he is now the most popular Soviet leader since Joseph Stalin during the war, when we fought the war together.

[Pozner] Well, I still wonder whether or not in the two countries there does not exist a group of people who have had a vested interest in keeping the two peoples very suspicious about each other and keeping the fires of doubt and fear burning and I look at the media in that sense and I also look at certain politicians. Do you really think that this can be overcome? What are your feelings?

[Plekhanov] Sure it can be overcome. I think that both sides are increasingly viewing each other not in terms of, you know, inevitable enemies, attitudes set in concrete, when the Soviet Union views the United States as by nature aggressive, predatory and therefore very hard to deal with, while in the United States there's the view of the Soviet Union of the evil empire. I think what we are coming to understand now in our new maturity on both sides, and I would say without self-congratulations that we seem to be more mature at this than the American side. We view each other in terms of alternatives. That there are voices in the United States which are not anticapitalist but which are in favor of a detente with the Soviet Union. And, you know, which way the United States will go, whether it will go, take the route of a more aggressive posture with the Soviet Union or whether it will be more accommodating is very much a question that will be decided in the political dialogue and the political struggles in the United States and around the United States. So there are alternatives, there are options, there are different roads that can be taken by the United States.

Similarly in the Soviet Union we are now determining the course of our further development. We have chosen a road which is difficult, which involves a lot of changes in this country, and which should be understood in terms of there being another model of socialism better than the current one that we have, and that again opens the questions of alternatives...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] I'm sorry, what about vested interests? You remembered (?to) put that question in a very [word indistinct] way. What about vested interest groups?

[Pozner] I mean none of the... [Pozner changes thought] Let me give you an example of what I'm talking about. None of the candidates, Democratic or Republican, felt that they could ignore the business about being tough with the Russians, and none of them came out with very positive statements about better relations with the Soviet Union because that doesn't seem to work very well today in the United States. There is still a very strong sentiment that you have to be tough with the Russians, and that's part of the political platform. I happen to believe that in my country, in this country, there are also people who tend to believe that, you know, yes, we can deal with the United States, we have to keep a certain image there, somewhat negative image. What I'm asking is, can we hope to overcome this situation where Americans will look at us like they do....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Vladimir, first of all we should recognize that in both countries, those groups are [words indistinct]. If we recognize that, then, of course, your question has its logic. Could we overcome that?

[Pozner] Well, I'm asking. What do you think?

[Legvold] I don't think there's any question that that can be, that that can be changed, and here maybe I'm a little less democratic than others around the table. I happen to believe that the role of leadership is absolutely crucial. My own view is that in this election campaign, before it is over, you will hear candidates talking about the prospect for improved relations with the Soviet Union

and offering you a basis for thinking about an improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations. What's more, with a new president, if we begin moving in that direction, leadership will begin providing a rationale for an improvement of U.S.-Soviet relations. That's a very important influence within the United States. I also believe that the character of leadership in the Soviet Union is at least, if not more important, in shaping the dominant view of possibilities in foreign policy. I don't deny the existence of conservative elements in either society, and I certainly don't deny the existence of vested interests. The real issue is what the tilt is in the balance among these interests and the tilt is now in a favorable direction.

[Pozner] I'd like to simply inject here, with time running out, that we have seen examples of change in the United States, in particular in relation to China. We all remember the time when many Americans were fearful of China and China was the bogey man. And today, that has changed very basically because of the change in people's outlooks and that it does depend on leadership to a very great extent. Well, I'm saying that you can change it. I'm not saying that you can do it overnight, but I am optimistic. Yes?

[Legvold] May I say just a very brief, an optimistic note? It's always better and its always more natural to lose the image of the enemy, to become less hateful (?of) somebody than we used to be. Normal human beings do not love hating other human beings.

[Pozner] Thank you. On that very optimistic note let me thank the director of the Harriman Institute, Robert Legvold, and the two deputy directors of the USA and Canada Studies Institute, Dr Plekhanov and Dr Bogdanov. We'll be back next week on the same day. Until then, this is Vladimir Pozner wishing you all good listening.

'Top Priority' on Shevardnadze Visit, Summit

LD262203 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 26 Mar 88

["Top Priority" program, presented by Pavel Kuznetsov, with Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Dr Sergey Plekhanov]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to "Top Priority." I am Pavel Kuznetsov, your host, and together with me are our usual panel, Drs Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov. The fourth Soviet-American summit will take place in Moscow between 29 May and 2 June, and this was announced in Washington, DC following the talks in the American capital between Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his counterpart, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, and also Foreign Minister Shevardnadze had meetings with President Reagan. We also know that there will be two more such ministerial meetings in the runup to the Moscow summit, and they will be in April and in May.

Let us imagine that we have a clean sheet of paper and we divide it into two parts, or into two columns, and into the first one we enter the positive developments and trends emerging in Soviet-American relations, and into the second column we enter the difficult es and problems that we have. And I would like one of you to start our program by giving an assessment of this balance, and perhaps one of you would indicate where this balance is tilting.

[Bogdanov] I in principle agree with your approach. I have a piece of paper before me. I divide it....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Where? I don't see it. Back on your desk in the office?

[Bogdanov] No, here.

[Kuznetsov] Oh, just mentally, in your mind, OK.

[Bogdanov] Just mentally, in my mind. I divide it into two parts, as you have suggested. First of all the meeting took place: Isn't it negative [as heard]? It's, of course, positive. Number two: The foreign minister saw the President, which is an event. Number three: They have agreed to have another round of meetings in April and in May before the summit. Number four: They have covered the whole range of problems between USSR and USA. Should we expect them to settle all these immensely difficult, some of them immensely difficult, problems at one round? No, if you are realistic....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] I didn't suggest that.

[Bogdanov] No, no, no. I mean, I'm just trying to....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] I didn't imply that by my question.

[Bogdanov] Yeah. No, no no, I understand, Pavel.

[Kuznetsov] I mean, when two men, when these two men are meeting, this is business as usual. Yet I would like you to be less cagey and be more specific on what is it that we have achieved, and what is precisely that we are yet to achieve?

[Bogdanov] Oh, we have yet to achieve a number of things, a number of things.

[Kuznetsov] OK, like what?

[Bogdanov] Like, like 50-percent (?cut) treaty. We have still difficulties with ABM Treaty, with the settlement around that problem. But my understanding is that there is some progress in that, too. And we have a problem with some regional conflicts.

[Kuznetsov] Like Afghanistan.

[Bogdanov] Like Afghanistan, like Afghanistan. What really worries me is that again you have American domestic games, American domestic interests prevailing over common interests.

[Kuznetsov] OK, we'll go back to....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Pavel, what makes me optimistic—that's a very rare occasion when I feel optimistic—that we, that we have another two meetings, ministers' meetings, before the summit meeting, and what we have else, we have a, to my mind, a political desire from both sides to find a settlement. That makes me optimistic.

[Kuznetsov] Dr Plekhanov.

[Plekhanov] Well, I understand there's been bridging of positions between the two major problems, that is the START accord that would limit or is expected to cut long-range offensive arms of both sides by 50 percent, so there is a direct link now in interdependence between this issue and the problem of SDI and space testing. Both Soviet Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary Shultz agreed that there cannot be a treaty on 50-percent cuts without adherence to the ABM Treaty for a specified period of time. This is I think....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] An area we've made some progress.

[Plekhanov] Well, judging by the statements which I have read there's been progress on a number of details concerning the strategic arms reduction treaty. For instance, one thorny issue was the verification of the reduction of the sea-launched cruise missiles, and the Soviet side has offered a set of verification measures which the American side took with substantial interest, and that seems to have opened the way toward working out a mutually acceptable verification package. I think what's important is that we've seen signs that both sides are cooperating on finding acceptable technical solutions; that the technology does not become an unsurmountable obstacle, and that of course requires political will. There is definitely political will on both sides. On conventional arms I think the American position has been rather disappointing, because they've been insisting for a number of years that the Soviet Union has a huge preponderance in the conventional area, and that this issue must be solved. Well, what we've now offered is....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] To reveal the figures, the data, the information, to put all this on the table and discuss them openly.

[Plekhanov] Right. An exchange of data about the conventional forces, detailed data, and we expected that the American side would accept it with great interest, and, as Shevardnadze says, he did not find the American response enthusiastic, to put it mildly.

[Kuznetsov] Let us take a look, another look, at the technical problems that are still in the way of this major accord on, would-be accord on, 50-percent cuts. I hear one of the explanations that, well the INF Treaty is easier to control and verify because it deals with the absence of all weapons, while the START accord would leave each side with something like 6,000 nuclear arms of all types, and that is why it is so difficult to control and verify compliance with that treaty. And there is another explanation given by some American experts who claim that, well, we'll commit our national technical means of control and verification to the INF accord, but now we have another treaty coming up which is kind of imposed on the INF Treaty, and that is why we are going to spread, to stretch, our national control means, ah, to their, means, to their limit. Would you agree with that? Is this a problem with us as well as with them?

[Bogdanov] Pavel, frankly this is a problem with us too, because it's too big a problem for both sides, because their security is involved in it. But let me make just one or two comments on that. First of all, if American side prefers to have another zero in strategic arms we have been ready for cuts for a long time, and OK, we offer to them, zero is good for us and is good for you. Then, of course, you deal very easily with the verification problem. If you cannot achieve zero over-night, let's deal with (?the reality), and (?the reality) is that you can achieve 50-percent cuts. Of course we have very big problems with the verification, and we are also very much worried about the possible cheating, if you like, on the American side. But, in that you have quite a number of, if you like, a mix, a combination of verification procedures which you have (?now) to apply in INF case, you have a mix of national technical means, and you have some very far, very very efficient measures of control of ground, I call them ground technical means, plus, plus on-site inspections of different forms.

Tell me please, Pavel, have you ever had in the Soviet-American relations on arms control ever before such a mix of real, concretely existing measures? Never, never. The problem is that what we are talking now about are theoretical worries, very important but theoretical worries in the sense that you never applied that powerful mix of verification measures into the present. Let's do that, let's do that. But my worry is that that verification problem, which is very important one, may become again a hostage of some domestic political games of those who are fighting their last battle, if you like, against the arms control and the Soviet-American relations.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, I understand your concerns, Dr Bogdanov, but at the same time the complexities of control and verification are such that neither Eduard Shevardnadze nor Secretary of State George Shultz, nor even President Reagan could go on record as saying definitely that by the time of Moscow summit the START accord would be ready in time to be signed there. But this brings me to this problem, and I'd like you, Dr Plekhanov, to react to this: In other words we've made ourselves

captives or hostages to the arms race in the sense that when we build arms—and when I say we I don't mean just the Soviet Union, but all major nuclear powers—few people ever even bother to give it a thought about what's going to happen when we decide one day to reduce them or cut them down in terms of those very complex national and control [as heard] verification measures. And what strikes me as strange or ludicrous now is that some people are still talking about building space defenses without giving it a thought about what's going to happen a decade or two decades from now when we supposedly would like to do something about controlling what's up there in the skies.

[Plekhanov] The arms race, you know, broadly speaking, the arms race has been going on for thousands of years, and there is a very strong tradition in people's minds to think of peace.

[Bogdanov] You mean to say, Sergey, that it started in the Stone Age? [laughs]

[Plekhanov] Yeah, well, sure, when they started making stone weapons in order to break each other's skulls, and that was, of course, a very bad thing to start, but I mean it was started and it has been going on for milleniums. Arms reduction is only a few months old. Let's face it, we are at a historical divide. Mankind has only begun in recent years, has only begun realizing the fact that we can't go on like that.

[Bogdanov] Sergey, you mean to say that we are very smart in building them but we are very poor destroying them.

[Plekhanov] Exactly, exactly.

[Kuznetsov] Because we build them first, and we never think about what's going to happen tomorrow.

[Bogdanov] It's a very good point of yours, Pavel, very good point.

[Kuznetsov] It's a tragic point, it's not a good one.

[Plekhanov] No, but you put your finger on a serious problem.

[Kuznetsov] Another problem—you already mentioned it, Dr Bogdanov—is regional conflicts and the major, perhaps the only thorny and sticking point now is what is to be done about the American demand for a simultaneous halt of Soviet aid to the Kabul Government and a cutoff of American aid to the rebels. Incidentally, this linkage was approved by the U.S. Congress at the end of February in what was called at that time a nonbinding resolution. Now it seems that that nonbinding resolution became a binding resolution on the Reagan administration. But I remember that some time ago, a month or so ago, when we discussed Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan, which contained the pullout date and the timetable for the Soviet withdrawal, Dr Bogdanov, you said that you anticipate some artificial obstacles to be raised, and you kind of hit the nail on the head. You strike me sometimes as a wizard of sorts.

[Bogdanov] Let's look at that from another angle, from more positive angle. With all my....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] You see a positive angle.

[Bogdanov] What I mean by, no, no, no, what I mean by positive angle—we had, and I say we had a very rare occasion in the Soviet-American relations when both sides could cooperate, would cooperate in settling the most acute, most complex problem of our day, among the regional problems it is the most complex one, together, together. It was a real, real, chance, and very rare chance. And I have an impression now that the American side, instead of all the hue and cry that they are so much willing to settle regional conflict, they are not willing to settle it because of their many other reason—I wouldn't like to mention them now because time is running out, but I would like to call American attention to that point. What chance we are missing, because my personal opinion, my very personal—Sergey, and here you may not agree with me—that we can do without them in that regional conflict. We can do without them.

[Kuznetsov] That is, we can do without the United States being a guarantor of the....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Without, (?I guarantee) we can do without them. That's my personal belief and I stick to it.

[Kuznetsov] On the last edition of "Top Priority" one of the guest speakers was Robert Legvold of the Harriman Institute in New York, and he left the Soviet Union with the impression that the Soviets feel they have been doublecrossed on Afghanistan. Do you think, Dr Plekhanov, that this is perhaps a rather strong way of putting it, or it's, it's just the essence of what we feel about the American position?

[Plekhanov] Well, yes, I think that's an adequate description of how we feel. To be more specific, since the Soviet troops were sent to Afghanistan in December 1979 it has been the U.S. official position that the Soviet Union should pull out its troops and in fact....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] (?Implement this) with a timetable I think.

[Plekhanov] Yeah, but the chief thing is get the troops out. That's been the, according to the American official position, that has been the aim of the U.S. policy. Now we are at the point where, as a result of negotiations and political settlement, we are pulling our troops out, and when we start doing that the United States raises the ante. It says: Stop your aid to the Kabul Government.

Now, we have been giving aid to the Kabul Government since 1921. (?At least) it's raising a qualitatively new demand at a moment when we are just standing on the threshold of a settlement.

[Bogdanov] Sergey, don't you think that there is a number of, there is a group of American senators, I would like, I wouldn't like to mention them by name.

[Plekhanov] Ah, in Washington they're called the bleeders. That's a group within the administration and within the U.S. Congress who think that it's a good thing that the Soviet troops are there; it's a good thing that there's a war going on in Afghanistan. They have been instrumental in foiling an incipient settlement: in 1983 when we could have achieved a settlement and pull our troops out. Well, the bleeders are there and they continue to do their work.

[Bogdanov] Sergey, maybe they are prevailing, they are gaining an upper hand. What do you think?

[Plekhanov] Well, they've got the President's ear, I'm afraid, because they're his old friends.

[Kuznetsov] Well, as time is running out on us I suggest that we go back to what we started this program with and give an assessment to the balance sheet between the Soviet Union and the United States and where this balance is tilting.

[Bogdanov] I would give a very diplomatic answer: We are tilting in to right direction.

[Kuznetsov] The right direction?

[Bogdanov] Yeah, I hope so.

[Kuznetsov] Dr Plekhanov?

[Plekhanov] I think we are moving too slowly.

[Kuznetsov] Moving too slowly?

[Plekhanov] I think we are moving too slowly on the Iranian problem.

[Kuznetsov] What kind of...?

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Well, just like on Afghanistan, for instance.

[Kuznetsov] You think it's going to be settled or (?going) to sour Soviet-American relations for (?ever)?

[Plekhanov] Well, it is souring already I think.

[Kuznetsov] Is this the note you would like to conclude this program?

[Plekhanov] I don't like what's happening, I must say.

[Kuznetsov] OK. And on this note I am signing off. Your host was Pavel Kuznetsov. Together with me were Drs Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov. Goodbye till next week at the same time and on the same wavelength.

Borin: 'Gap' in Carlucci Remarks, Public Opinion

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[Text] Frank Carlucci, the United States defense secretary, has said Japan and the NATO allies are doing more to ensure world security than they get credit for. But the American Government will continue to press them to assume a larger share of the burden. In a 14-page report, Mr Carlucci said it appeared that Japan and eight West European countries might have increased their defense spending by 3 percent or more in 1987, matching the NATO goal. Nikolay Borin:

[Borin] Following the NATO summit in Brussels, United States officials have been very active in whipping up a process of arms modernization in Western Europe. Well, this campaign started when the Pentagon, under congressional pressure, had to cut some of its own conventional arms projects. The signing of the INF Treaty scrapping two classes of nuclear missiles gave rise to some new slogans in NATO: An urgent need for compensation is one of them. It was promptly backed by Washington, but now it turns out that the main burden of the conventional arms buildup is intended for Western Europe and apparently for Japan. There is also a certain element of the blackmail here, with top American officials and senators saying the allies should increase their spending on the American troops in Europe if they want to see them there. At hearings in Congress, Senator Ted Stevens addressed the Pentagon people with the tough warning that if they don't force the allies to increase their military spending, he will give no support to their military programs. It is not the first time the United States is trying to push Western Europe into a new round of the arms race, insisting on more money being put into the European war business. But it has never been done at a time when most Europeans look forward to favorable changes after the recent Soviet-American agreement on Euromissiles, and at a time when an important new agreement aimed at reducing a large amount of weapons is a realistic prospect. So there is certainly a gap in my view between Carlucci's calls for a military buildup and the public's expectations.

China

Li Peng Addresses Opening of NPC Congress

PM290925 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[PRAVDA and TASS special correspondents A. Krushinskiy and G. Arslanov dispatch: "Course of Reforms. NPC Session Has Opened in Beijing"]

[Text] The House of People's Congresses Hall of Sessions. The solemn strains of the PRC national anthem can be heard. The first session of the Chinese National

People's Congress [NPC], Seventh Convocation, has been declared open. The presidium at the session includes Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and other party and state leaders.

The session has met at a moment of exceptional importance for this great socialist state. Four months ago the 13th CPC Congress worked out a course for the comprehensive deepening of economic and political restructuring and the acceleration of socialist building. Now the PRC supreme organ of state power, which has been more than half renewed, is called upon to give the party ideas the force of law. With this in view numerous Beijing citizens, who were gathered in Tiananmen Square bathed in spring sunshine, were interested in seeing the NPC delegates with their own eyes and greeting them. However, the attention of the entire country is riveted on the session—it was not for nothing that the report delivered by Li Peng, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee and acting premier of the State Council, was broadcast in full on national Chinese radio and television.

The successes of People's China during the 5-year term of the NPC, Sixth Convocation, are appreciable. Thanks to the implementation of radical economic reform, the country has secured considerable successes in economic development and in improving the life of the billion-strong population. The average growth in national income, the speaker pointed out, amounted to 10.7 percent in comparable prices and its overall volume amounted in 1987 to 915.3 billion yuans.

The speaker stressed that construction in the sphere of socialist democracy and legality has gradually been stepped up. The economy geared toward the external market has been hugely developed. The country's overall volume of imports and exports last year reached $82.7 billion and has shown an average annual increase of 15 percent. In 5 years foreign credits worth more than $15 billion have been received and the total of direct foreign investments has reached almost $9 billion. More than 10,000 enterprises and facilities have been set up in the PRC using foreign capital.

"In the past 5 years we have secured tremendous successes in all spheres of work but we also still have many difficulties, problems, and shortcomings in our work," Li Peng stated. When analyzing in detail the problems inherited from the past and those emerging in the course of restructuring, he singled out the excessive rise in prices. He pointed out that there is still a very tight situation in terms of power resources, raw materials and supplies, transport, and communications.

The report by the Chinese acting head of state devoted considerable attention to foreign policy problems.

Touching on regional conflicts, Li Peng pointed out the shifts in the political solution of the Afghan problem and advocated the creation of a coalition government of Afghanistan involving the interested parties. "The Soviet Union has stated its readiness to withdraw all its troops from Afghanistan and we hope that this will be implemented," the report says.

While talking about Soviet-Chinese relations, Li Peng noted the expansion of trade relations, scientific and technical exchange, contacts between the USSR and the PRC, consultations regarding the normalization of Chinese-Soviet state relations, and talks on border questions. "The normalization of PRC-USSR relations conforms with the aspirations and fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries," he said. "We have taken into consideration the fact that the Soviet side has also stated the need for strict observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between socialist countries." However, Li Peng pointed out the "existence of three well-known obstacles" in relations between the two countries. The speaker linked the possibility of a meeting between the two countries' leaders with the resolution of the Cambodian problem.

Touching on Chinese-U.S. relations, which "are stable on the whole," Li Peng recalled that certain U.S. circles are constantly interfering in China's internal affairs on various pretexts, which is damaging relations between the two countries.

The session will last until 13 April. The deputies will have to elect a PRC president and the chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, ratify the candidacy of the premier of the PRC State Council, and also elect the chairman of the PRC Central Military Council. The draft law on nationally owned enterprises and also a number of legislative acts linked with the further development of foreign economic ties will be submitted to them for examination.

Northeast Asia

DPRK Tells UN of 'Dangerous' Maneuvers

LD281804 Moscow TASS in English 1716 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 28 TASS—The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has called U.N. attention to the extremely dangerous nature of U.S.-South Korean military maneuvers codenamed "Team Spirit-88".

Pak Gil-yon, permanent observer of the DPRK at the United Nations, said in a letter to the president of the Security Council, which was issued here today, that the war games involved over 200,000 servicemen, including 60,000 U.S. troops, AWACS planes, B-52 strategic bombers, and A-16 and F-15 fighter-bombers carrying nuclear weapons, as well as tanks, missile forces and a carrier-based naval flotilla.

U.S. servicemen were airlifted to take part in the exercise from the United States and from military bases on Guam, in Japan and on the Philippines.

The letter said that the United States and Seoul were conducting maneuvers at a time when the DPRK Government had made reasonable proposals for saving the nation, which were aimed at easing tension on the Korean peninsula and achieving peace and peaceful reunification.

First Soviet-Japanese Joint Venture Noted

OW290226 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Unattributed talk from the "Siberian Tour" program on (Inirma)-Tairiku, a Soviet-Japanese joint venture]

[Excerpt] (Inirma)-Tairiku, the first Soviet-Japanese joint venture, will go into operation late this month to produce quality lumber. The partner of the Japanese company Tairiku Boeki is the Forestry Trust in Irkutsk. Regarding the present status of the joint venture, the chief engineer of the trust, (Nosarev), said:

[A few seconds of (Nosarev) recording in Russian are heard, fading into announcer-read Japanese translation] Construction is proceeding as scheduled, and part of it is ahead of schedule. Production control work and plant assembly have almost been completed. We have started test runs of lumbering facilities to make it possible for the plant to launch full operations simultaneously with the start of business.

At present, our trust has the task of providing raw materials to the joint venture. Three companies of our trust have begun work on the task and have already prepared some stockpiles. We expect (Inirma)-Tairiku to be successful. The Japanese partner has installed the most up-to-date facilities for the joint venture, and almost no waste is generated from the plant. Sawdust is the only thing for which we have not found a use, but we are making efforts for a solution in this regard, too.

Since production is carried out in accordance with Japanese specifications, sales in Japan will be possible. We have things to learn from Japan on production management. [passage omitted]

Friendship Society Meeting Held in Tokyo

OW290212 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] The Japan-USSR Friendship Society held its 24th regular general meeting on 25 March in Tokyo. Present were prominent politicians, Diet members, leaders, activists of society branches in the country, and members of a Soviet citizen delegation.

In his opening address, Akagi, president of the society and Diet member, said: This meeting is being held amid positive changes in the world situation resulting from the signing of the INF Treaty and progress in the disarmament area. These changes, like the perestroyka currently under way in every part of the Soviet society, present favorable potential for improvement in Japan-USSR relations.

Japan Socialist Party Vice Chairman Ogawa said: It is none other than the Soviet Union that took the initiative in revitalizing the USSR-U.S. dialogue. Under the present circumstance, the Japan-USSR friendship movement has entered a qualitatively new phase.

In a comment to a TASS correspondent, Kawamura, chairman of the society's Hokkaido chapter, said: Japan and the Soviet Union are neighbors. It is natural that neighbors should be friendly toward each other. We will further develop our movement for friendship with the Soviet Union and have as many Japanese people as possible join us in this movement.

The meeting adopted a program of activities for this year.

Japan To Build Reconnaissance Planes

LD291020 Moscow TASS in English 0941 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Text] Tokyo March 29 TASS—Washington has granted Japan the right to build ER-3 electronic reconnaissance planes under a U.S. licence.

Relevant documents were exchanged here today by Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno and the U.S. ambassador to Japan, Michael Mansfield.

ER-3 aircraft developed by Lockheed Corporation are meant to monitor movements by enemy ships and have been based on R-3C anti-submarine warfare planes which are also in service with the Japanese Armed Forces.

KYODO news agency said the Japanese naval command plans to form in the future a group of four ER-3's for electronic spying against the Soviet Union.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Faults Noted at Soviet-Aided SRV Hydroscheme

PM240951 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 23 Mar 88 p 3

[Dispatch by TASS correspondents S. Blagov, V. Burbulis, and M. Kalmykov for SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA: "Taking Account of Mistakes for the Future"]

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City—Some 2 months ago, the ceremony to commission the first 105 megawatt power unit became a central event not only for the 25,000-strong international collective of the Tri An hydraulic power station, but also, it will be no exaggeration to say,

for the entire package of Soviet-Vietnamese economic cooperation. The participants in the meeting held at the time proudly emphasized that during the 3 years of construction, the schedule envisaged by the plan targets was never once violated. They also noted the rapid pace of work achieved by introducing a three-shift system.

The news was welcomed with particular joy in the southern SRV's biggest economic center—Ho Chi Minh. After all, regular power cuts at industrial enterprises and in whole city regions have been commonplace here because of the acute shortage of electricity. This led to unplanned stoppages and disruptions of production targets. It is with the new hydraulic power station, the planned capacity of whose four power units is 420 megawatts, that Ho Chi Minh and the southern provinces of Vietnam link their main hopes for emerging from the power crisis. In addition, the hydraulic power station's artificial sea will provide water for 300,000 hectares of agricultural land.

But just 2 days after the official ceremony, the turbine had to be stopped.

"The immediate reason for the enforced stoppage was the leaking of water through the ferroconcrete body of the water conduit close to its join with the power unit," chief Soviet expert Yuriy Kirsanov says. "Failure to observe the procedure for pouring concrete led to the accident. This was confirmed by a joint commission of Soviet and Vietnamese experts working at the hydroscheme, which also discovered a breach in the airtightness of the power unit's metal casing—the result of poor-quality welding. To eliminate the faults will require an additional 1,000 cubic meters of concrete, which will cost a further 100 million dongs."

The reasons for the fault were discussed at a press conference at the Tri An hydraulic power station for Vietnamese and foreign journalists. Tran Van Danh, SRV vice minister of power and chief of the construction staff, noted the dimensions of the hydraulic construction work, unusual for the south of the country, and the precise observance of the schedule for installing the project. He stressed that the temporary stoppage of the first unit should not cancel out the achievements of the collective of hydraulic construction workers who had installed such a large project within the shortest possible time.

There were other reasons for the faults, of an organizational nature this time. The haste caused by the desire to provide current for the South Vietnam electricity grid as rapidly as possible. The irregularity of Soviet deliveries: Often the pace of work was considerably ahead of the arrival of necessary equipment. Departmental uncohesiveness: The hydraulic power station is being installed by three Vietnamese ministries—the ministries of power, construction, and irrigation. Here the interests of the construction trusts and organizations representing them do not always coincide. The bureaucratic mechanism of management, which is not surrendering its positions despite all the efforts which are being made in the country to overcome it, could not fail to affect the course of construction either. The state of affairs at the construction site is also being affected by the grave difficulties which the Vietnamese national economy as a whole is now encountering. Thus sharp fluctuations in prices on the market and the state's lack of ready cash to pay the wages of the Vietnamese construction workers on time directly affected the latter's interest in the results of their work and, naturally, the quality of work.

At the same time the project did not take sufficient account of Vietnam's climatic conditions, the project's chief engineer, Mikhail Neminskiy from the Kuybyshev branch of the S.Ya. Zhuk Planning, Surveying, and Scientific Research Institute, admitted at the press conference. This affects primarily the technology for pouring concrete, which has now been revised. Nor was the factor of the Vietnamese construction workers' lack of the necessary experience, skill, and knowledge taken into account. Some types of work, for instance concrete pouring and welding, were not performed to the proper standard. The alteration of the concrete pouring technology will make it possible to ensure the high quality of work at the construction sites for the second, third, and fourth units whose commissioning is scheduled for this year and the start of next year, M. Neminskiy said.

The main subject of the joint session of the party bureaus of the Soviet and Vietnamese Communists was the elaboration of measures to eliminate the faults and commission the first power unit as rapidly as possible. "What has happened was a serious lesson to all hydraulic construction workers," stated Nikolay Vidutov, secretary of the bureau of the party organization of Soviet specialists working at the hydraulic power station. "It is essential to do everything to enhance responsibility for the matter in hand. It is no secret that our specialists have failed to ensure proper control over the quality of work, including concreting on the sector where the faults were allowed. We will unfailingly take account of our mistakes for the future."

The joint Vietnamese-Soviet commission of experts studying the causes of the emergency stoppage of the first unit, the press conference noted, saw its main task not in seeking out specific culprits, but in defining ways of putting the situation right as rapidly as possible and preventing similar errors in the future. The repair work now under way, as stated in the protocol signed on the results of the check, will make it possible to ensure the definitive commissioning of the first power unit as early as the end of March.

Well, the assurances are promising. And there is no doubt that the mistakes commmitted will be put right and the Tri An hydraulic station will take its proper place in the republic's economic complex and in the history of Soviet-Vietnamese economic ties. Nonetheless, we think that the question of the specific culprits in

this occurrence should not be left aside. It would be wrong to make the responsibility impersonal, distributing it "equally" among the entire international collective of many thousands, whose deserved prestige in Vietnam is very high. An honest, frank analysis of the blunders and faults at all levels, an impartial and principled talk without any falsely shameful fear of "casting a shadow on fraternal relations"—that is what can and must become the only reliable guarantee for the future. It is not only the hydraulic construction workers who are interested in this. It is extremely necessary to take account of the lessons of Tri An to increase the efficiency of the entire multifaceted system of economic cooperation between the two countries, which is still only taking its first steps along the path of restructuring and renewal.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan-Pakistan Peace Talks Resume 28 Mar

Threat to Pakistan Debunked

LD281656 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1340 GMT 28 Mar 88

["TASS observer on the Geneva Talks: A Far-Fetched Obstacle on the Way to a Settlement"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—TASS observer Valeriy Vavilov writes:

The Geneva talks on Afghanistan have turned out to be more complicated than was expected on the eve of the latest March round, which was expected to have been the concluding one.

It might have appeared that it would have been possible to agree quickly on all outstanding questions and to sign documents already prepared, thanks to the initiative of the Soviet and Afghan leaderships which have fixed the date and duration of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops and thereby removed the "basic obstacle" on the way to a political settlement.

But against all logic, more and more new obstacles are arising. And as soon as one of these is removed through the constructive actions of the Afghan side, new ones immediately make their appearance. Furthermore, these "new conditions" come into being both in Islamabad and in Washington.

Thus, Islamabad has long been insisting upon the mandatory setting up of a "transitional government" (meaning by this a government of its own men from among the mujahidin who have dug themselves in in Pakistan) not wanting to sign an agreement with the present government of Najibullah. Now, following talks between E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and G. Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, in Washington, an official representative of the State Department has asserted that the question raised by the Pakistani side of setting up such a "transitional government" can be "solved very quickly." The issue of the Durand line, which has been brought up by Islamabad—a problem only of Pakistani-Afghan relations and not, therefore, subject to discussion at the Geneva talks—has also been removed.

But now Washington has put forward "new conditions"—the Americans have demanded "the symmetrical halt to arms supplies;" that is, the United States halts supplies to the mujahidin and the USSR to the Afghan Government, or the introduction of a kind of year-long moratorium on supplies. But it is common knowledge that the Soviet Union has been giving aid to its neighbor Afghanistan on a treaty basis since 1921 and sees no grounds for reviewing these accords.

And yesterday, pouring oil on the fire, Pakistani President Ziaul Haq once again backed the mujahidin. According to him, "they are fighting not only for their own freedom but are also defending Pakistan." Moreover, as he claimed, "if the mujahidin are defeated in Afghanistan, Pakistan will be the next target for Soviet troops." The absurdity of this completely groundless "argument" from the Pakistani president is obvious. However, this is not an accidental slip of the tongue but a considered and ill-intentioned slander. Ziaul Haq has frequently contributed his mite to the myth about "the Soviet military threat" before. "In the future," he says, "the Soviets may get the opportunity to spread their influence southward, beyond Afghanistan, and if they do this they will find themselves on the shores of the Persian Gulf and as a result gain access to the ice-free waters of the Indian Ocean." The absurdity and groundlessness of such "reasoning" is evident.

But Islamabad and Washington, ignoring the real situation and the facts, keep on erecting more and more new obstacles. Isn't it time to put a stop to this practice? The world is waiting for an end to the armed conflict. Kabul and Moscow have gone their half of the way. It is time for Islamabad and Washington to show finally a sense of responsibility and put their signatures to the Geneva agreements opening up the path to peace and tranquility on the suffering Afghan soil.

'Obstacles' Remain

LD281701 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 28 TASS—Afghan-Pakistani talks conducted through the U.N. secretary-general's personal representative Diego Cordovez were resumed here today.

Cordovez is to meet first with the head of the Pakistani delegation, Zain Noorani, and then with the head of the Afghan delegation, 'Abdul Wakil.

Political analysts note that Islamabad's demand for linking the cut-off of American aid to armed opposition groups with the cessation of traditional Soviet assistance to Afghanistan remained one of the obstacles in the way of accords.

Afghanistan's Mangal Interviewed

PM281607 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 13, 26 Mar-1 Apr (Signed to Press 24 Mar 88) p 2

["Our Interview" with Habib Mangal, first deputy chairman of the Afghan National Front Central Council, member of the PDPA Central Committee, and former Afghan ambassador to the USSR, by correspondent D. Makarov in Moscow: "Afghanistan: Hard Process of Reconciliation"; date of interview not given—first paragraph is ARGUMENTY I FAKTY introduction]

[Text] Habib Mangal, first deputy chairman of the Afghan National Front Central Council, member of the PDPA Central Committee, and former Afghan ambassador to the USSR, recently visited Moscow. ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent D. Makarov asked him to reply to questions asked by our weekly's readers.

AIF: People in the West, when commenting on the slow progress at the Geneva talks, claim that President Najibullah's government and the PDPA are supposedly totally against the creation of a coalition government in Kabul, which factor is preventing the successful conclusion of these talks.

H.M.: This is said by those who are themselves unwilling to reach compromise.

People should not confuse the two processes—the Geneva talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the creation of a coalition government. Its formation is a domestic matter for the Afghans themselves. And the appropriate steps have already been taken. The Loya Jirgah, which has been held, was attended by 1,800 delegates. Some 80 percent of them were not PDPA members. Moreover, about 50 percent of delegates were eminent figures of previous regimes in the past—ministers, members of parliament, and so on. The participants in the Loya Jirgah conducted a most detailed discussion of the country's basic law, the Constitution. About 200 questions were put to the vote, and 340 persons expressed their viewpoints. I personally took part in that Loya Jirgah as a delegate from Paktia Province, and I must frankly say this: We have never before had such an open and constructive atmosphere in political debates. All the sessions were broadcast on the radio.

We offered the opposition forces, including those abroad, 27 posts in the future government, including the post of prime minister. We put forward more than 20 proposals on the future structure of power and are prepared to make new compromises.

AIF: And what is the reaction by the opposition in the form of the "seven-member alliance"?

H.M.: That part of the "alliance" which is taking part in talks with us does not express any open disagreement with participation in a coalition government, just as it does not display any open hostility to the policy of national reconciliation. But this is only part of the "alliance"; its other part occupies extremist positions, but it does not reflect the sentiments of most refugees.

AIF: How do you explain the refusal by part of the "alliance" to talk about participation in a coalition government?

H.M.: These people are pursuing their selfish interests. During the war some leaders of opposition formations made millions by pocketing part of the "aid" given by Western countries, drug trafficking, robbing and smuggling abroad our national treasures, and reselling U.S. weapons to anyone willing to buy them.

On the other hand, some dushman leaders have committed crimes which the Afghan people will never forgive. This is why they are afraid to come back; they fear just retribution.

AIF: And what is the solution?

H.M.: While continuing talks with those who are now talking to us, we have simultaneously started to shape coalition power at the local level—in villages, districts, and provinces. About 4,000 leaders of opposition formations who have come over to the state's side have been elected members of local organs of power. Some of them are taking part in the Loya Jirgah's work. Coalition rule already exists now in every local administrative unit.

AIF: What do you perceive as the main obstacle to the establishment of peace in Afghanistan?

H.M.: The inertia of 8 years of war. All the opposing sides in the conflict must develop the new political thinking for which Soviet leader M. Gorbachev calls. He personally set an example of such thinking with the statement on the USSR's readiness to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The main point is to make the process of national reconciliation irreversible.

AIF: Western news media also claim that the policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by the government in Kabul in January 1987 has failed. Is this so?

H.M.: In our view, national reconciliation is the only possible way out of the civil war, and this is why this policy enjoys the support of the country's population. Let us turn to facts to back my statements.

Since January 1987, about 110,000 of our compatriots have returned from Pakistani and Iranian camps. Approximately 42,000 armed insurgents have brought their weapons over to the side of people's rule, against not more than 12,000 in all the years of the civil war.

Now, essentially all strata of the Afghan population are involved in the reconciliation process. The support of the peasants, who comprise the majority of our country's population, is especially important. And it seems to us that a breakthrough has been achieved on this issue. Some 3,200 villages switched peacefully to the side of the central government in 1987, while "peace zones" now embrace 165 communities and districts, 2 provinces, and more than 1,000 villages. About 3 million persons live there.

There is no other sensible alternative to national reconciliation.

Soviet Parliamentarian Previews Arab Gulf Tour

LD291105 Kuwait KUNA in English 1005 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 29 (KUNA)—A top Soviet parliamentarian who this Thursday heads a delegation on an Arab Gulf tour said here Tuesday the protracted popular Palestinian uprising lends urgency to the need for a just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute.

Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament), Georgiy Tarazevich argued that all parties to the dispute inclusive of the PLO should engage in peace talks at an international conference with binding powers to impose solutions.

Tarazevich, who was speaking to Soviet NOVOSTI news agency, added that "the Palestinian voice is urging us to take advantage of the current situation and move vigorously towards fulfillment of the national Palestinian rights, and the long overdue peace and security for all states of the region."

Tarazevich, who is also the presidium chairman of the Supreme Soviet in the Republic of Belorussia, strongly denounced "Israel's oppressive measures in occupied Arab lands", and expressed full solidarity with the just Palestinian struggle.

Headed by Tarazevich, the Soviet parliamentary delegation will also comprise the director general of official Soviet TASS news agency, Sergey Losev and the secretary general of Soviet Writers Association, Mobobitshu Kanatov [name as received]. The Soviet officials would be visiting Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and possibly Oman.

Turning to the Iran-Iraq war, Tarazevich said the belligerents should not bet on the military option as a means of realizing objectives or settling differences. He emphasized that the two warring nations should show maximize cooperation with the good offices of the U.N. Security Council to halt the seven and half year old hostilities.

The Soviet official strongly urged all peace-loving countries to contribute towards current efforts of the U.N. secretary general, Javier Perez de Cuellar to this effect.

Commenting on the recent flare up in the so called tanker war in the Arabian Gulf waters, Tarazevich pointed up Soviet proposals for the formation of a U.N.-sponsored naval task force to protect freedom of shipping in the strategic waterway. He expressed belief that deployment of U.N. flag forces would help deter hostile acts against neutral shipping in the Gulf, and activate efforts to achieve a political settlement of the Gulf war.

Concluding, Tarazevich said Moscow has been dealing "seriously and respectfully" with U.N. Security Council resolutions on the Gulf war, and "believes in making full use of all means of enforcing such resolutions."

Meanwhile, Arab diplomatic sources in Moscow told KUNA today that during their tour of the Gulf the high-powered Soviet delegation would discuss the Palestinian uprising, the war of cities between Iran and Iraq and bilateral links between the Soviet Union and the Gulf states.

Gromyko Sends Greetings to Morocco's King Hassan

PM290941 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Mar 88 Morning Edition p2

[TASS report: "Telegrams Exchanged"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has sent a telegram to King Hassan II of Morocco on his country's national day, in which he conveys sincere congratulations and wishes for success and prosperity to the Moroccan people.

In an answering telegram the king of Morocco expressed his appreciation for the congratulations and, in turn, conveyed wishes for progress and prosperity to the Soviet people.

Marchuk Science Delegation Arrives in India

LD282109 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1727 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Delhi, 28 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent Leonid Kotov reports:

A delegation of Soviet scientists, led by Academician G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, arrived in the Indian capital today. It will take

part in a session of the Joint Soviet-Indian Council on the Implementation and Coordination of the Integrated Long-Term Program of Scientific and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and India.

In an interview for the TASS correspondent, Academician G.I. Marchuk, the head of the Soviet delegation, noted that the upcoming meetings with leading Indian scientists will make a contribution toward fulfilling the agreements and understandings on the development of scientific and technical cooperation of the two countries and toward implementing joint research and large scale projects in priority areas of science and technology.

East Europe

Joint Troop Exercises on CSSR Territory End

LD281711 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian
1622 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow 28 Mar (TASS)—A joint troop exercise of the Central Group of Troops and the Czechoslovak People's Army ended today. Issues of control and cooperation among different groups of troops were worked through during the course of the exercise.

According to the assessment of those leading the exercise, it was instructive and demonstrated the troops' increased level of military training.

The aims set for the exercise were achieved. The troops which took part are returning to the bases where they are permanently stationed.

Observers from a number of states, parties to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, attended the exercise and were invited in accordance with the document of the Stockholm Conference.

Jakes Urges 'Restructuring,' 'Democratization'

PM240903 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Speech by M. Jakes"]

[Text] Prague, 20 Mar—The main task today is to get the party and communists moving and to mobilize all working people to struggle actively for restructuring and for the democratization of society. The fulfillment of national economic tasks is a necessary condition for success. This was stated by M. Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, at a party conference at the "Tesla" enterprise in the city of Pardubice.

The intensification of the economy requires structural changes to the national economy. The deepening of socialist economic integration within the CEMA framework is an important condition for the implementation of these changes.

The restructuring of society requires improvements in party work. The main thing here is to strengthen the party's unity and improve its activity.

Peace is a most important condition for the implementation of our plans, M. Jakes pointed out. That is why the CSSR resolutely supports the peace-loving policy of the USSR and the entire socialist community.

Truth About Katyn, 'Taboo Subjects' Urged

PM291600 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian
30 Mar 88 p 9

[Abridged version of TRYBUNA LUDU article under the rubric "Behind the Scenes": "Why Break Down an Open Door"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU has published an article headed "Specialists Breaking Down an Open Door." We reprint it, with abbreviations.

Western agencies have reported that a group of Polish intellectuals have sent an open letter to representatives of Soviet science and culture demanding clarification of the full truth about Katyn.

As is known, since M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with W. Jaruzelski, Soviet and Polish historians have continued intensive work to eliminate "blanks" in the history of Polish-Soviet relations. It is necessary to clarify, in particular, matters which are painful to us—such as deportation, or Katyn. Yuriy Afanasyev, who is among the addressees of the letter, has already expressed his opinion in the pages of POLITYKA: Taboo subjects must be eliminated, and one of the most important places should go to Katyn. Prof Jarema Maciszewski, chairman of the Polish section of the joint Soviet-Polish commission of historians engaged in eliminating the "blanks," spoke out in the same spirit in the pages of our newspaper.

Opposition figures like Lech Walesa, Zbigniew Bujak, or Wladislaw Frasyniuk, joining in when the problems are already at the stage of being solved, basically managed to join in some kind of game to create a new ballyhoo.

The fuss about the letter can hardly be seen as other than an attempt by certain individuals to seize any opportunity to "warm themselves" in the rays of glory from known and recognized stars in the intellectual firmament—on the crest of the wave of matters that are arousing lively interest in Polish society. BBC commentaries acknowledge the existence of this game, as well as the fact that apparently not all those who signed the letter know that such a game is in progress. Figures in science and culture cannot know about it and cannot keep a constant eye on such games. It is only to be regretted that certain spiritual leaders who signed the

letter, like, for instance, the head of the Warsaw congregation of Jesuit fathers, did not try to avoid participating in an action which can only damage the process of eliminating the "blanks."

The concerns of the antisocialist opposition in Poland, and its desire to artificially maintain its presence wherever it can, lead it even to put forward initiatives which have for decades been fundamental to the activity of Polish socialist forces. The letter speaks, in particular, of the "hope of a breakthrough in relations between our peoples." This initiative for achieving a "breakthrough" in Polish-Soviet relations is too late, on at least two counts: First, because the breakthrough took place more than 40 years ago, and second, because the 27th CPSU Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress gave powerful new boosts to strengthening Polish-Soviet friendship. They resulted in the declaration on Soviet-Polish cooperation in the sphere of ideology, science, and culture, which was signed last April. The work in accordance with the spirit of this declaration covers a considerably wider range of problems and is more profound in nature than the demands put forward in the letter.

RCP Executive Committee Discusses Economy

PM240829 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee Session"]

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Mar—At its session the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee discussed a report on the results of economic and financial activity in 1987. It was emphasized that significant results were achieved in the intensive development and modernization of industry and in enhancing the competitiveness of Romanian goods on the world market. The biggest harvest of grain crops in the country's history was obtained in 1987.

RCP General Secretary N. Ceausescu pointed to the need to dispose of material and financial resources with the maximum thrift and to prevent the squandering of public property. The task has been set of increasing the profitability of all enterprises.

The RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee examined reports on the party's size, composition, and organizational structure as of 31 December 1987 and also on the international activity of the RCP and the Romanian state in 1987 and the main foreign policy directions in 1988.

The Political Executive Committee resolved to convene an RCP Central Committee plenum 28-29 March this year.

Antonov on Close Economic Links With USSR

AU181542 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Mar 88 pp 1,5

[Article by Aleksey Antonov, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman: "Example of Dynamic Development in Fraternal Cooperation"]

[Text] Four decades have elapsed since the signing of the Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Treaty between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This document of historic importance, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, fully equal rights, friendship, and selfless assistance, reflects the interests of both the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples.

During the period under review, Soviet-Bulgarian friendship passed the test of time. Multifarious and mutually advantageous relations between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria are developing in a dynamic manner.

In 1987 the turnover of trade exchange between the two countries increased to R12.8 million, which is an approximately 100-fold increase compared with the state of this development at the time of signing the treaty.

The Soviet Union is the People's Republic of Bulgaria's greatest foreign trade partner. In 1987 nearly 60 percent of the Bulgaria's foreign trade volume was implemented with the Soviet Union. Bulgaria also plays an important role in USSR foreign trade. Bulgaria is in fourth place among our country's foreign trade partners.

Soviet-Bulgarian economic cooperation exerts considerable influence upon the rates of development in the national economy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and upon the growth of its efficiency.

The Soviet Union today is Bulgaria's basic supplier of fuel and energy resources, which are required for Bulgarian economic development. The share of these deliveries amounts to 60 percent on the export list of the Soviet Union. In this current 5-year plan period the deliveries from the USSR practically cover Bulgaria's total needs for oil, petrochemical products, natural gas, electric power, iron ore, and metallurgical coal imports.

The delivery of machines and equipment, which represent 23 percent of the total Soviet exports to Bulgaria, will also play a great role in Bulgarian economy. Soviet tractors, combines, freight trucks and passenger automobiles represent 85 percent of Bulgaria's machine pool today.

Our two countries' economic and scientific-technical cooperation is of great importance for Bulgaria's economic upsurge and industrialization. In the years of people's power in Bulgaria, approximately 250 industrial enterprises and other energy, metallurgical, machine

building, chemical, and petrochemical industry installations and enterprises in other sectors were built, reconstructed, and equipped with modern machines with Soviet technical assistance. Such installations determine to a great extent the industrial image of this country. They are producing approximately 65 percent of Bulgaria's total industrial output.

During the Ninth 5-Year Plan period the volume of our technical cooperation with the People's Republic of Bulgaria amounts to R2.5.billion. Soviet organizations render assistance in the construction and modernization of more than 100 Bulgarian industrial enterprises. Among them we should point out enterprises which are of great importance for Bulgarian national economy, such as the Kozloduy nuclear power plant, (third stage), the Belene nuclear power plant, each of whose energy blocks has a power amounting to 1 million kilowatt hours, the Dimitrovgrad chemical combine, as well as the Asarel and the Gruncharitsa ore enrichment plants, and others.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, in turn, is one of the greatest suppliers of various goods which are of great importance for the USSR national economy.

As to Bulgarian exports for the Soviet Union, the share of machines and equipment amounts to 55 percent—consisting mainly of electronic calculating equipment, lifting and transport equipment, electrotechnical machines, agricultural and communication equipment, as well as ships and ship equipment.

A relative large share (15 percent) of Bulgarian exports to the Soviet Union is represented by fruit, vegetables and food industry products, as well as by raw material for this industry. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is the Soviet Union's only supplier of peaches, marmalades, and cheese, as well as the greatest supplier of canned meat, fruit juices, and cooked fruit. Sixty-five percent of Bulgaria's food exports are delivered to the Soviet Union.

Bulgarian industrial consumers have an important share on our market—more than 70 percent of Bulgaria's exports of ready made clothes, knitwear, leather goods are delivered to the USSR and 60 percent of the shoes sold on our market are made in Bulgaria.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria also participates in the construction of plants on USSR territory. In exchange for this participation Bulgaria is supplied with metals, gas, and petroleum products from the Soviet Union. During the 1986-90 period Bulgarian building workers participated in the construction of various projects in the ferrous metallurgical sector, in oil, and in the gas industry. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has an important share in the construction of the Yamburg—USSR Western borders gas pipeline.

The signing of the Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria Through the Year 2000, on 7 June 1985 between Mikhail Gorbachev and Todor Zhivkov, the general secretaries of our two parties' Central Committees, as well as the agreements reached between them during their meeting in October 1987 play a definite role in the further, comprehensive economic cooperation between our two countries and in their drawing closer together.

The expansion and intensification of integration processes between our two countries play an important role in the further, dynamic development of Soviet-Bulgarian relations. Great attention is paid to the development of direct links between enterprises and organizations in both countries and to the establishment of joint enterprises, international trusts, and organizations in various economic branches. At the present stage of development the new forms of cooperation encompass approximately 200 in each of our two countries. Protocols and economic agreements have established 150 direct links between the two countries—95 between industrial enterprises—and 55 between scientific-research and design-engineering organizations. Within the framework of the new forms of production and scientific-technical cooperation 5 joint enterprises, 23 international trusts and 24 organizations (joint collectives, laboratories, and design bureaus) were established.

The development of new forms of cooperation between Soviet and Bulgarian enterprises has begun to have a beneficial effect upon our national economies. This development accelerated the increase of labor productivity in various sectors and in various operations, it accelerated the improvement of technical standards and of production quality, and it speeded up the terms of commissioning projects and reduced expenditures in the application of new products, as well as in technical and technological solutions. The new forms of cooperation and their development help to cover the needs of both countries for goods that are in short supply. Thus, for example, in the Ivanovo-Sofia and Beroe-Krasniy Proletariy joint trusts the cycle of introducing new types of production was reduced by 20-30 percent. Without additional capital investments the production volumes of goods which are in short supply have increased.

Other international trusts are envisaged to engage in the production of 200 automatic lines and 570 technological modules for the machining of rotating parts and the production of electronic instruments for the automation of diesel equipment worth R40 million.

In the first AVTOELEKTRONIKA joint enterprise the production of control units was introduced, which made it possible to save 15 percent of fuel. The first 2,500 control units for VAZ, Moskvich, and GAZ automobiles have already been produced in Bulgaria for the Soviet Union. The production of such control units is envisaged to attain 25,000 in 1988.

To provide more favorable conditions for the development of new forms of cooperation, and in accordance with the decisions of the CEMA 43d (Extraordinary) Session, coordinated proposals are now under preparation for the perfection of economic levers, for the establishment of a legal and organizational basis, likely to promote new forms of cooperation between USSR and Bulgarian enterprises under the conditions of full economic accountability. During the current 5-year plan period cooperation in the scientific and technical sector is aimed at further acceleration of scientific-technical progress. This cooperation in its very essence is aimed at accomplishing tasks in priority sectors, such as nuclear energy, introduction of electronic equipment, comprehensive automation, new materials and new technologies, as well as biotechnologies. The solution of these problems will enable us to produce 110 types of new machines, equipment, and instruments to introduce 80 technological processes, and 15 new types of materials. Cooperation among economic organizations in implementing the requirements of the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific and Technical Progress of the CEMA Countries Through the Year 2000 plays a considerable role in scientific-technical cooperation between our two countries. In 1988 it is envisaged that scientific-research and experimental engineering work will be completed and experimental models for 139 products will be created as well as 105 development projects in the Soviet Union and 34 in Bulgaria introduced.

The success in Soviet-Bulgarian economic and scientific-technical relations is beyond any doubt. Despite all this, the potentials of restructuring in economic management which is now taking place in both our countries are still not being used to a full extent and with the greatest efficiency.

In accordance with the agreements between the chairmen of the USSR and Bulgarian Councils of Ministers, efforts are being implemented on perfecting cooperation and promoting economic interaction between our two countries to a qualitatively new level, in conformity with topical requirements.

The economic departments in both countries are facing the task of preparing long-term projects for cooperation in the interest of better covering needs in both the Soviet Union and Bulgaria for updated production and for the expansion of both countries' export capacities. The plans and the scientific-technical organs in both countries, together with the branch departments, developed and coordinated a draft project for a concept on the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria for a 15-20-year period which will serve as basis for coordination of plans between the two countries as regards the forthcoming 5-year plan period.

A program on improving the technical level and the quality of jointly produced goods, primarily in the machine building sector, has already been developed and is in the process of being implemented.

The implementation of the measures that were already mapped out in this respect will enable us to accomplish a new step along the path of perfecting our mutual cooperation, which will contribute to a more successful accomplishment of the tasks assigned by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 13th BCP Congress.

Lukyanov Receives Visiting BCP Delegation

LD191305 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 19 Mar 88

[Text] A delegation of party workers from the Bulgarian Communist Party was in our country 14-19 March. They were told about the CPSU's experience in party guidance of perestroyka in the law enforcement agencies and in the legal sphere. The Bulgarian comrades had meetings and conversations in the Administrative Organs Department of the CPSU Central Committee, in the Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party, and in law enforcement agencies.

The delegation was received by Comrade Lukyanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary.

Zaykov Receives Bulgarian Ambassador

LD172136 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Zaykov today received Pankov, Bulgarian People's Republic ambassador to the USSR. During a comradely conversation, questions of the further development and strengthening of friendly ties and cooperation between the party organizations of the capitals of the fraternal countries were discussed.

Hungarian Foreign Ministry Official Visits

LD182324 Moscow TASS in English 2036 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—Janos Kis, head of a department of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stayed in Moscow on March 15-18.

Consultations on some aspects of Soviet-Hungarian relations, including matters of cooperation between the two countries' foreign ministries, were held in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Janos Kis was received by Leonid Ilichev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR.

Albanian Government Hears Balkan Meeting Report

PM171611 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "ATA Reports"]

[Text] Tirana—ATA reports that the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania heard a report by R. Malile, Albanian minister of foreign affairs, on the meeting of Balkan countries' foreign ministers in Belgrade. It approved the activities of the Albanian delegation and instructed ministries, departments, and various institutions to study the recommendations contained in the communique of the meeting of Balkan countries' foreign ministers and to adopt the measures necessary for their implementation.

The Council of Ministers emphasized that the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will continue to consistently implement the policy of good-neighborliness and develop fruitful cooperation with other countries, guided by the principles governing the relations between sovereign states. It will support constructive steps which promote strengthened accord and serve the development of bilateral and multilateral relations and the cause of peace and security in the region and in Europe, the ATA report says.

West Europe

Shevardnadze Backs Portuguese Role in Africa

PM291022 Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 25 Mar 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Portugal Has 'Important Role' To Play in Southern Africa, Soviet Foreign Minister Says in Lisbon"]

[Text] The USSR has acknowledged for the first time that Portugal has an "important role" to play in resolving the conflicts of southern Africa, especially Angola. The Soviet "endorsement" came at the end of a brief 4-hour visit to Portugal by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who explicitly recognized our country as a "valuable interlocutor" in the discussion of the problems affecting that part of the world.

This marks a noteworthy change in stance on the part of the USSR, which hitherto has refused to discuss Angola's problems officially with Lisbon. The swing is all the more significant inasmuch as Shevardnadze revealed yesterday that consultations between the two countries will continue in May at the deputy ministerial level (the equivalent in Portugal is the secretary of state).

All indications are that the "thaw" began with President Mario Soares' visit to the USSR at the end of 1987 and lies within the framework of the changes of approach in foreign policy introduced by the team headed by Gorbachev. The Angolan situation is still a point of friction between the two sides, but Moscow's admission that the subject could be broached by the two countries' diplomatic leaders was a positive sign.

Eduard Shevardnadze's stopover in Lisbon (on his way back from Washington, where he had 3 days of discussions with officials of the Reagan administration on topics such as disarmament and regional conflicts, from Afghanistan to Central America) thus provided a clear confirmation of the Soviet change of course.

The intensification of bilateral relations now seems to be the next step (an intention expressed by Moscow's foreign minister) and could result in a positive response to Soares' invitations to Andrey Gromyko to visit our country. This invitation was confirmed to Shevardnadze, according to Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro, and all signs are that good progress is being made in this direction.

The USSR responded by extending a similar invitation to Cavaco Silva [Portuguese prime minister] to pay an official visit to Moscow.

Contacts With South Africa [subhead]

Despite the considerable relaxation of the USSR's stance on the subject of regional conflicts, Moscow still denies any involvement in Angola. The Soviet Union thus maintains a clear distinction with respect to the Cuban presence, since, Eduard Shevardnadze said, Soviet military aid rests on bilateral bases "and there is no reason to revise this principle."

This position, related to the USSR's tough stance on South Africa, also shows that no significant progress toward peace in the region was made at the meeting with Shultz in the United States. In Lisbon the Soviet minister stressed that there are no relations with South Africa "so there are no contacts with that country."

During his brief stay in Lisbon the Soviet leader also had time for a conversation with Alvaro Cunhal [Portuguese Communist Party secretary general], of whom he said he was an "old friend." The conversation centered on "restructuring" and democratization in the USSR, mainly from the viewpoint of its successes and difficulties. Shevardnadze did not, however, provide any further details about the results of the meeting, which he said was rather brief.

It was Shevardnadze's only meeting outside the institutional framework, since his available time (a little over 4 hours) was shared between meetings with the president, the prime minister, and Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro. The Portuguese foreign minister also gave a very positive assessment of the talks, stressing that Portugal maintains relations with all the sides involved in the conflicts of southern Africa.

He added, however, that there are no official contacts with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], though he admitted there have been unofficial talks. Asked whether the Portuguese Government was involved in these talks, Joao de Deus Pinheiro was deliberately ambiguous, saying that, as a minister, he was not involved in these contacts.

The Portuguese foreign minister added that, from his viewpoint, the solution of the Angolan issue will not occur through an armed conflict, in which connection he condemned interference by third countries.

Atomic Energy Experts Begin Visit to UK
LD281517 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] London, 28 Mar (TASS)—The level of development and importance of atomic power are currently such that the task of guaranteeing its safety can be successfully carried out only by the joint efforts of scientists of different countries. The peaceful atom must be under man's reliable control. This was said at a news conference held here on the occasion of the beginning of a visit to Britain by a representative delegation of Soviet experts in the field of monitoring the reliability and safety of atomic power stations. The delegation is headed by V.M. Malyshev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Safety in the Atomic Power Industry. This is the first such visit in the history of Anglo-Soviet relations.

Over the next 3 days, the Soviet experts and their British colleagues from the Executive Committee for Health Protection and Security will discuss a wide range of problems concerning the improvement of the systems of monitoring the work of atomic power stations. They will share their experience in inspecting and testing the reliable and safe performance of nuclear reactors. The delegation will visit a major nuclear power complex of the country at Hinkley Point (County of Somerset) and meet with British parliamentarians. As Eddy Rider, chief inspector of British nuclear enterprises, who took part in the news conference, noted, the present visit is called upon to lay a foundation for a steady process of cooperation between the two countries in this major field, which would make it possible through joint efforts to completely rule out the possibility of another tragedy similar to that in Chernobyl.

Dobrynin Welcomes Italian Communist Leader
LD281700 Moscow TASS in English 1554 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party Alessandro Natta arrived in Moscow today at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

He is being accompanied by Giorgio Napolitano and Antonio Rubbi, members of the ICP leadership, Renato Sandri, member of the ICP Central Committee, and Renzo Foa, deputy editor-in-chief of the newspaper L'UNITA.

The Italian delegation was welcomed at the airport by secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee Vadim Zagladin, and other CPSU Central Committee senior executives.

Finnish Air Force Commander Ends Moscow Visit
PM281415 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Visit Concluded"]

[Text] Major General P. Jokinen, commander of the Finnish Air Force, concluded his official visit to the Soviet Union.

During the visit the Finnish guests familiarized themselves with Air Force combat equipment and with the combat training, life, and daily routine of Soviet airmen.

Major General P. Jokinen left Moscow for home 25 March. The guest from Finland was seen off at Sheremetyevo Airport by Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, USSR deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Air Force, and by generals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Major A. Puheloinen, acting military, naval, and air attache at the Finnish Embassy in the USSR, was among the sendoff party.

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama's Abadia Discusses U.S. 'Aggression'
LD282230 Moscow TASS in English 2143 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Caracas, March 28 TASS—Panama's Foreign Minister Jorge Abadia Arias, who came here for the extraordinary meeting of the Latin American Council, has told journalists that positions are strong in his country of the forces coming out in defence of the country's sovereignty and for U.S. firm compliance with the Panama Canal Treaty. No economic sanctions of Washington will break the will of the Panama people who are stoically withstanding the difficulties.

Panama was subjected 20 times to American aggression over the period of its history, he said. U.S. blackmail particularly intensified after 1977 when under the pressure of Latin American unity the White House was compelled to sign the treaty, one of the items of which provides for the transfer of the Panama Canal to Panama's jurisdiction before the year of 2000.

Minister of Planning and Economic Policy Ricaurte Vasquez Morales, member of Panama's delegation, underlined at the press conference that the prompt decision of Latin American governments to have this meeting testifies to their respect for and support of his country's stand.

Clashes on Nicaraguan-Honduran Border Viewed

PM281433 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Report by P. Bogomolov, PRAVDA special correspondent, for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "Dispatch From Nicaragua: What Provocation?"]

[Excerpt] Managua-Moscow—[Passage omitted] In the last few days, the undefeated remnants of Somoza gangs have been beating an untidy retreat to the border region of Bocay. One part of this region belongs to Nicaragua, the other—to Honduras. There, in the lush, mountainous tropical rain forest, without any fortified border positions, let alone any Honduran administration organs, forward units of the Sandinist People's Army have been smashing rear bases, training camps, and contra headquarters with the help of helicopter support.

Initially the Honduran capital—Tegucigalpa—wisely kept silent, not responding in any way to these combat operations. The word "wisely" is quite justified in this case. This is why: By signing the Guatemala agreement between five Central American countries on 7 August last year, Honduran President Azcona assumed a series of highly responsible obligations. One of them is not to permit the existence of bridgeheads of aggression against neighbors in his state's territory. In this kind of situation it is better not to be outraged by the border conflict between the Sandinist People's Army and the contras, as any statement on this issue is tantamount to an admission of one's own unscrupulousness.

However, as we have already learned from press reports, it was not reason and circumspection that prevailed but... the militarist itch of Washington, at whose demand Tegucigalpa began to protest—after an obvious delay—against the "Sandinist aggression." It has also requested additional aid from the Pentagon which... has already been given. Meanwhile, Honduras has flatly refused to allow an international inspection of its territory. This is understandable. After all, even the most scrupulous check would not manage to find a single village devasted by the Sandinistas or a single Honduran soldier killed.

Even REUTER, which is far from sympathetic to revolutionary Nicaragua, has impartially established that there are traces of local engagements between the contras and Sandinist People's Army units on both sides of the border, but certainly not in the heart of Honduran territory. So, there are only traces of border skirmishes, but certainly no evidence of "Sandinist intervention." But right next door—in Nicaraguan territory—there are a considerable number of fresh scars left by concentrated Honduran Air Force attacks. There is no comparison, as they say.

But why does the White House really need the situation surrounding Nicaragua to become exacerbated again? To all appearances, it has been timed to coincide with the resumption of cease-fire talks between the republic's government and the rebels. The Somocistas' patrons certainly would not want their charges to turn up at the negotiating table completely finished. But how can the rebels be supported if the U.S. Congress has twice recently turned down the President's demands for this kind of aid? There is only one solution—to go to any lengths to ensure direct contact between the demoralized contras and battalions of the U.S. or Honduran armies supporting them from the rear. And this "union" has now become reality.

Incidentally, in galvanizing support for the contras, some people on the shores of the Potomac were obviously also counting on... just indignation from the Nicaraguan leadership. Would the United States' subversive actions and the increased threat to Nicaraguan revolutionary achievements suddenly compel the Sandinistas to abandon talks with the rebels and, at the same time, national dialogue with the opposition at home?

But these attempts to provoke us to reckless actions running counter to our reconciliation policy are totally in vain, the country's president, Daniel Ortega, said to me in autumn last year. We made a conscious, firm decision when we embarked on a course of national dialogue and the restoration of peace on Nicaraguan soil. No one can dislodge us from this course.

Cuba's Castro Holds Talks With Adamishin

LD291017 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Text] Havana March 29 TASS—Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic, has received here Anatoliy Adamishin, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR.

During a detailed conversation the Cuban leader was informed of the main results of the talks in Washington between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

The Soviet representative pointed out that the talks had been an important stage in the development of a political dialogue between the USSR and the U.S. whose foundation had been laid at the Soviet-American summit held

last December. This concerns, in the first place, the key problems of the consolidation of peace and international security that were discussed in the setting of the coming summit talks in Moscow.

Fidel Castro displayed special interest in the discussion at the Soviet-American meeting of questions connected with the working out of an agreement on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive armaments and a convention on the banning of chemical weapons, as well as with the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and regional problems.

During the conversation its participants exchanged views on the situation in the south of Africa in the light of the opportunities of a peaceful settlement of the situation in the region on the basis of a balance of interests of the sides and respect for the right of nations to a choice of the way of independent development. The identity of stands of the USSR and Cuba on those problems was again reaffirmed. The representatives of the two countries went on record in favour of using all the means for immediately putting an end to the aggression, for achieving the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola and the fulfillment of resolutions of the U.N. Security Council on Namibia.

The meeting held in a warm and friendly atmosphere was attended by Jorge Risquet, member of the Politbureau and the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, and Aleksandr Kapto, ambassador of the USSR to the Republic of Cuba.

Political & Social

Latest Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Dispute

Academician: Safeguard Constitution

NC280802 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] The suggestion made by Doctor of [word indistinct] Sciences (?Abulkhak) Kasymov, who is a professor at the Baku Higher Party School, a Communist, and a veteran lecturer in the Azerbaijan SSR, is worthy of attention. The professor has suggested that the constitution in the country, which unites the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, should be carefully maintained and safeguarded just like the unwavering and [words indistinct]. As called for by Prof Kasymov, the [word indistinct] should be maintained within the republic and regarded as the symbol of international friendship and of the deep popular awareness.

Citizen Appeals for Calm

NC260828 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Aslanyan, deputy section leader at the automobile repair plant in Yerevan, has told ARMENPRES:

I was born in Nagorno-Karabakh, and, naturally, I follow with great and keen attention all reports concerning the land of my ancestors. The appeals by a number of union republics and the decision by the Presidium of the highest state organ in the land are evidence of the concern that prevails throughout the country in connection with the situation created in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Like my comrades at work, I consider that inflaming emotions and passions can only make an already complicated situation worse, and it will harm the prospects for a calm deliberation of the problems that have accumulated in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast over the years [word indistinct].

Therefore, I am making an appeal that there should be no (?meetings) today, on March 26, that everything should be done to restrain individual persons—particularly youths—from taking thoughtless steps, and that people should speak up on the subject within the family and at the workplace.

Yerevan Deputy Backs Resolution

NC260940 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Stepan Vahramyan, [word indistinct] leader of the Armenian Electrical Machinery Production Association and a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, has told an ARMENPRES correspondent:

The resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet that was published in the press, with its calm and practical tone of goodwill, clearly conveys the indisputable fact that the situation that has been created in Azerbaijan and Armenia in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh is causing serious damage to further strengthening friendship, not only of the peoples of these republics, but also of the peoples of our multinational state as a whole. Our party is not hiding the problems that have accumulated over a period of decades. Such problems can be solved but only under conditions of legality within the democratic process and within the framework of internationalist solidarity of the Soviet peoples. This is why it has been decided to devote one of the future plenums of the [CPSU] Central Committee to the development of ethnic relations.

Armenian Enterprises Productive

NC271003 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Text] Many industrial enterprises in the Lenin Rayon in the Armenian capital worked with high productivity and [word indistinct] yesterday [words indistinct]. Striving to conclude the first quarter of the year with high indices, they successfully fulfilled the day's assignments. Many brigades and leading workers have exceeded the norms by a considerable amount. Industrial enterprises, construction and transport [word indistinct] in other rayons in the capital also worked as usual yesterday.

Azerbaijan Presidium Writes Republics

NC271521 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0600 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR has received addresses from the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the RSFSR and the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian, Kirghiz, Tajik, Turkmen, and Estonian SSR's.

The addresses expressed the profound unease and sharp (?concern) felt by the working people of the fraternal republics over the situation in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's in connection with the incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Letters by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR have been sent to the presidiums of the supreme soviets of all the union republics. The text of these letters reads:

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the entire populace of the Azerbaijan SSR have received with a sense of profound gratitude the concern and the words of fraternal support expressed in the address by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of your republic, taking these

as an expression of solidarity as well as [word indistinct] and monolithic unity of purpose of the fraternal peoples of our country and of their concern for the basis of the socialist fatherland.

These ties of friendship and fraternity are traditional in the multinational family of the Soviet peoples. In Azerbaijan, too, people of over 100 nationalities work hand in hand as (?one). They make their worthy contribution to the speeding up of social and economic development, science and education, and the renovation of all aspects of life in the republic.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the working people of the republic consider any act against socialist internationalism, the greatest achievement of socialism, inadmissible. The situation that has come about in Nagorno-Karabakh [words indistinct] creates great [word indistinct] in the hearts of all men [words indistinct].

Events have (?taken a turn for the worse) when the whipping up of nationalist feelings provided the opportunity for criminal elements to act, and this ended in tragic and [word indistinct] consequences in Sumgait [words indistinct].

We consider that the irresponsible acts of individuals (?distract) the thrust and purpose of the masses from the great task of perestroyka. The fate of socialism, our fatherland, and each one of us depends on the success of perestroyka.

The soviets of peoples deputies, party committees, and working people of Azerbaijan (?accept) that certain shortcomings and errors have been allowed to occur in the tackling of internationalist education and in the solution of the socioeconomic, educational, and other problems of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The party, soviet and Komsomol authorities [words indistinct]. These shortcomings must be overcome [words indistinct] together with the party, soviet, and Komsomol authorities of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in a radical and [word indistinct] manner. All the realms of life in the oblast must be fundamentally reconstructed, and measures must be (?announced) to speed up its socioeconomic and spiritual development and to ensure the [word indistinct] conditions. This task is already underway. This is an all-peoples task.

We greet the (?good wishes) and help of other republics with gratitude [words indistinct]. The working people of the whole republic, Communists and non-party members, war veterans and veterans of labor, and youths [word indistinct] are stating, in numerous letters and applications, that outstanding problems of interethnic relations must be settled within the framework of the democratic process and with very serious attention to legality. The working people of the republic propose that all the obstacles that stand in the way of normalizing the situation should be sought out and overcome, to strengthen the friendship of the Soviet nations, which was forged in the revolutionary struggle and perfected in the decades of [word indistinct] work, and to develop the traditions of the Leninist nationalities policy, which is the source of our creative force.

We are determined that the friendship of the fraternal republics will (?continue to flourish). We shall continue to work with greater vigor for the fulfillment of the decisions of the 27th and later party congresses, and of the [words indistinct] in the message of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the working people and populace of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

[Signed] Suleyman Tatliyev, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR

Economic Concerns Reported

PM281227 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 28 March 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 3 a feature, comprised of two articles, under the "This Issue's Reportage" rubric entitled "There Is No Reason for Brothers To Be Divided."

In the first article, entitled "Armenia," own special correspondent A. Chernenko reports on conditions in Masisskiy Rayon, where Armenians and Azerbaijanis are said to live alongside one another harmoniously, and which is an economically stable rayon with good production figures in various spheres. The raykom first secretary is quoted as saying that the main reason why the multinational rayon has been unaffected by the problems experienced elsewhere in Armenia is that "the fundamental interests of the Azerbaijanis and Armenians living in the rayon are intertwined." Asked about weekend crimes, Armenian MVD Minister A. Shaginyan claims that "no incidents connected with relations between the nationalities were recorded on the republic's territory."

In the second article, entitled "Azerbaijan," own correspondent Z. Kadymbekov reports on the economic disruption caused by the backlog of work at Stepanakert railroad station: "The difficult situation that prevailed at Stepanakert station and indeed at many enterprises in Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast in February and March because people failed to report for work has aggravated the economic situation not only of Nagorno-Karabakh but to some extent the whole republic. The party and government have now approved and ratified an extensive socioeconomic development program for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. But the first condition for its successful implementation is that machine tools do not stand idle, freight cars be unloaded, and work in the fields proceed at full swing. The most realistic, well-conceived program cannot be carried out if people do not feel a high sense of personal responsibility for the fate and development of their region and get down to work."

The concluding paragraph reads:

"Is it possible to make up the leeway, to fill the gaps, and to set the oblast's economy to rights? The process will no doubt need time as well as effort. That is why it is necessary to embark on it straightaway, starting this very Monday, the first working day of the week. One would like it to be a turning point in the events and all working people to report for work at plants, factories, in the fields, and at livestock units. After all, it is not just lost time that has to be made up; the foundations for carrying out the creative program for the socioeconomic development of the NKAO, on which the majority of the people in Karabakh pin their hopes, also have to be laid."

Strikes Continue

LD290835 Hamburg DPA in German 0803 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—Some of the enterprises in the Soviet Republic of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh area are still on strike, it was learned Tuesday from civil rights circles in Moscow. The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, situated in Azerbaijan, appears to be much more tense than in Armenia. [passage omitted]

Most telephone links with Armenia were still dead on Tuesday. Not only the telephones of civil rights campaigners but also other random numbers in the Armenian capital, Yerevan, cannot be dialed.

Yerevan Truck Plant Back to Normal

PM290929 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Mar 87 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by special correspondents S. Bablumyan and S.Dardykin: "Yerevan: 28 March"]

[Text] As a whole Yerevan is living by its everyday rhythm. All enterprises without exception are working, party Gorkom Secretary O. Daniyelyan reported. Classes are in progress in all VUZ's. The attendance rate at classes is normal, we were told at the university, and far higher than last Saturday, 26 March.

At the "YERAZ," the Yerevan truck plant, the new working week was preceded by just one day's leave. People worked here on Saturday, as they did at many other enterprises in the republic. They assembled dozens of vans, the groundwork for which had already been completed. The new vehicles were sent to clients in Moscow, Tashkent, Chernovtsy, Odessa, Simferopol, Dnepropetrovsk, and Donetsk Oblast. The quarterly plan for deliveries to Azerbaijan had already been fulfilled 21 March.

"And how about today?"

"We must assemble the planned number of vans," director V.G. Nersenyan replies. "So far the schedule is being fulfilled to a consistently high standard. Another 4 days remain to the end of the quarter. I think we will cope with the plan, despite the 3 days in late February when the conveyor belt stood idle.

"The plant is continuing to experience difficulties in obtaining side windows [bokovyye stekla] from Sumgait. There was a point when there was no more room on the plant yard for completely finished vans, but they had no windows. The truck sent for the month's consignment returned from Sumgait with nothing—it was not allowed into the city. We had to charter an aircraft. Aeroflot's services have already cost "YERAZ" a pretty penny. Each flight costs over R1,500 and we have less than a week's supply of windows."

The director told us there are also plenty of problems with other subassemblies. But these are ordinary problems—they are resolved on a workaday basis.

We enter the body shop.

"Is the work going well?" we put the same question to fitter G. Tonyan and welder B. Seropyan.

"Perfectly well," we receive an identical reply.

Conditions in Stepanakert

PM290959 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by special correspondent P. Gutiontov: "Stepanakert: 28 March"]

[Text] I will say straight away that only yesterday I believed that I would be dictating a completely different report to the editorial office. Life in the city had obviously started to return to normal and the militia had "unsealed" many streets to vehicular traffic. But the main thing was that party meetings had been convened on leave days at the city's enterprises. They had been stormy, but the decisions eventually taken at these meetings instilled optimism. It seemed that people had begun to understand that it is impossible to resolve problems which have accumulated over decades or to cut "the Karabakh knot" in just an hour. This knot must be painstakingly unraveled, and here the interests of Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and all inhabitants of the autonomous oblast undoubtedly coincide.

Yes, there have been distortions and misrepresentations in the nationalities policy here and unfortunately they have remained to this day and are visible to any unbiased person. Many of the facts cited here are indeed obstinate. But why prevent the solution of real problems and add ever new stones to the obstacles which already exist?

I set off at 0600 this morning to tour the city's enterprises. The workers at the silk combine, shoe factory, and electrical equipment plant had not gone to their lathes.

The students had not entered the auditoriums of the pedagogical institute. Mothers had not brought their children to the kindergartens.

One detail: The Azerbaijani workers had arrived at the entrances of their enterprises, but that is little comfort because even they are saying: Until the Armenians arrive we will not work either. They say that some young men tried to overturn the buses on regular runs to the enterprises, barred the way to those walking along the streets, and threatened them.

To whose advantage is this?

The party gorkom appeal which has been broadcast since this morning from mobile wired-radio outlets—by lunch time it should have been printed in leaflet form—says that the city is already in arrears to the state to the tune of R7 million.

How much more is to be lost? And, most important, what for?

Yes, the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh have not been made up, but in the end they have already been expressed at the session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies and the party obkom plenum. Who, then, are the champions of strong-arm methods and disorganization "pressurizing" today? Why are they preventing the questions which have arisen from being examined in a calm atmosphere?

On Sunday I had a long, frank talk with the new party obkom first secretary, G.A. Pogosyan.

"What are the immediate prospects, in your view?" I asked.

"I believe," the secretary replied, "that we are now succeeding in persuading people that the tactics of 'strong-arm pressure' are most inappropriate tactics today."

The leaders of the now disbanded "Krunk" society and indeed all Stepanakert people with whom I talked on the streets also expressed themselves against work stoppages. What then has happened over the past day? What forces have been intervening to wreck the normalization of the situation in the city and oblast? To whose advantage is this continuation of a confrontation with we know not whom, a confrontation fraught with irreversible consequences?

Armenian Party Conference Noted

PM291311 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 13 Mar 88 p 1

[ARMENPRES report: "Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Conference"]

[Text] A conference has taken place at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee in which first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms, ministers, state committee chairmen, leaders and party organization secretaries of industrial enterprises, VUZ's, scientific establishments, and creative unions, trade union and Komsomol organ officials, and media representatives took part.

They examined the results of the CPSU Central Committee conference which heard reports of the situation developing in the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR in connection with events in Nagorno-Karabakh, and the urgent tasks of the republic party organization.

K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the conference.

It was noted that the examination of the question at the CPSU Central Committee conference is a clear manifestation of the party's great attention to the fate of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, and to strengthening the friendship of the peoples of Soviet Transcaucasia and of the entire country. This was a logical continuation of and gave concrete expression to the important provisions and recommendations contained in M.S. Gorbachev's Appeal to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, which has met with firm support everywhere.

The Politburo's instruction to the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat to organize a profound and all-around study of the problems which have accumulated in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the reasons for the aggravation of interethnic relations around it, to draw up corresponding proposals and, when ready, to submit them for examination by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government was received with great satisfaction.

Emphasis was placed on the necessity to formulate a package of long-term measures to improve the international education of the working people, and to resolve in coordination current questions concerning the socioeconomic, consumer, scientific, cultural, linguistic, and other aspects of the relations between Azerbaijan and Armenia on the basis of the Leninist principles of internationalism.

Party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations have been instructed to base all work in labor collectives on M.S. Gorbachev's Appeal and the materials of the CPSU Central Committee conference, and to take all measures directed toward further improving the situation in the republic. The confidence was expressed that the working people of Soviet Armenia will demonstrate high political awareness and will react with deep understanding to the important provision of M.S. Gorbachev's appeal that the party does not want to avoid a frank discussion of the various ideas and proposals but that

this needs to be done calmly, within the framework of the democratic process and legality, and not causing the slightest harm to the Soviet peoples' internationalist cohesion.

Armenian Committee for Defense of Peace Meets

LD281840 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1715 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Yerevan, 28 Mar (TASS)—An extended session of the Armenian Committee for the Defense of Peace, which took place in Yerevan today, was devoted to tasks in the internationalist education of the working people and the struggle for peace under conditions of glasnost and the democratization of Soviet society.

It was addressed by G. Galoyan, chairman of the Armenian Committee for the Defense of Peace and vice president of the republic's Academy of Sciences; G. Garibdzhanyan, academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR; S. Sarkisyan, People's Artist of the USSR; G. Sarkisyan, corresponding member of the republic's Academy of Sciences; S. Vartanyan, chairman of the Council for the Affairs of the Armenian Church under the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR; and others.

Causes of NKAO, Yerevan Problems Explored

PM261900 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 88 p 4

[First part of report by special correspondents A. Afanasyev, D. Muratov, A. Mursaliyev, and A. Sarkisyan: "With Anxiety and Hope: We Reflect Today on Events In and Around Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] Yesterday, 25 March, a report was published to the effect that at its session the CPSU Central Committee Politburo approved a CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1988-1995.

Our attention today is very much focused on that region. It will take time to gain a comprehensive, in-depth understanding of the reasons for what is happening. Today it is important not to be too hasty in our judgments, but to raise questions to which the final answers are, we think, a matter for the very near future. And we must all seek these answers together.

We took off for Moscow. Perhaps our most difficult mission was over. Behind us were Baku and Yerevan. Sumgait. Stepanakert. Agdam. Dozens of meetings, acquaintanceships, heated debates. Impressions varying from the encouraging to the most distressing, from the alarming to the hopeful. As if the impassioned arguments were still going on, we could hear in our minds the monologues of interlocutors absolutely convinced that they are right (each with mutually exclusive arguments). And we tried to understand what we had seen and heard.

Builders of Babel [subhead]

One of us opened at random a book by the well-known Armenian writer and student of literature Levon Mkrtchyan, presented by the author the day before.

Here we found the legend of the Tower of Babel: "...A terrible, divine whirlwind, raised by the wrath of God, destroyed the tower, the people fell into fear and confusion, and each of them started to speak in a language incomprehensible to the others." Perhaps the worst thing of all had happened: The people of earth forgot how to listen and understand each other. As for the gods—good luck to them. The gods can stay in the legends. But wise legends can and should teach people something, and something extremely important, even today. But what will they teach each one of us? What will we be willing to learn? Will they help us to build, or, on the contrary, will they help us in destruction? "If the builders of different states and peoples, old and new Babels, are to reach mutual understanding, they need interpreters"—that is the conclusion drawn from the legend.

Interpreters.

That means people who interpret, in the sense of translating, thereby promoting either rapprochement or disunity. It also means people who interpret, in the sense of offering guidance or leadership: into the unknown world, which may become either familiar and habitable, or even more hostile.

Those who do not understand each other will inevitably find that their paths diverge. Those who do understand each other will find that their paths will eventually bring them together. So it is very important to know: Where are the interpreters leading you? It is very important to know: Whom are many thousands of people following today, along what road, and whom do they want to believe?... That is the first question we would like you to think about with us. The second question is: How does it actually come about that people stop understanding each other? And the third question is: What must be done to ensure that our colossal social energy serves exclusively constructive goals?... Three questions, but we will begin with the middle one: Because without answering that one, all the rest is incomprehensible.

So—why is it? After all, we have secured fundamental gains in nationalities policy, international friendship, cohesion, with its own traditions. Shared victories and great shared labor and costs are behind us.

Granted, there are, unfortunately, a good many people who have a ready answer: What do you mean, why is it? It is because of democracy, what else? One of the people we spoke with had analyzed the situation in his own way,

so to speak, with a naive complaint about...the newspapers: You keep reading about aircraft accidents. That is unpleasant. It gets on your nerves.... It is unpleasant. We will not argue with that. But would it not be absurd to conclude that it is "because of glasnost" that airplanes crash?!

Our airplanes, alas, used to suffer accidents before, too. For technical reasons, it should be observed, not for "democratic" reasons. Only we did not know about it.

So should we examine the technology? The reason is not to be found in democracy, but in bureaucracy. There, in the times of stagnation, and even before, in the years of the cult, the reason was locked away. The coals were smoldering, although in time they were declared extinguished. Smoldering coals often burst into flame, and it is largely up to us whether the flame will scorch us or warm us. But we sped by in silence, and the coals quietly smoldered. After a certain time it was customary to believe that what is national in form and socialist in content will remain so—contrary to dialectics and purely on the basis of written instructions—for all time. At a certain time it became customary to think that what is "national in form" is nothing more than a caftan, a cossack hat, or a fur coat, under which minds and hearts of radically different content hide during the concert. Songs and dances? That is national! Concern for your people's future? That is nationalist! All serious discussion was avoided, and that is why we do not know how to conduct—in an intelligent, educated way—a dialogue between nations, a dialogue about real problems. Yet equality means equality: not only in politics, but also in the open, intelligent discussion and resolution of problems of the economy, demography, culture, and science.

Perhaps it has sometimes been forgotten that "inter" is not "over," or "supra," or "extra." But—"between." International duty is not only abroad. International duty also means duty between nations. Let us take a sober look at what we have often engaged in during past years: international, or supra(extra)national education? Did we always seek potential for natural, organic rapprochement in the national itself? Or did we sometimes seek means of leveling out, making everyone the same? Cast your mind back: Have you not sometimes encountered situations where a Jew shrinks from saying that he is a Jew, and a Russian once again omits to say that he is Russian—both of them trying to avoid being suspected of...nationalism, chauvinism? How many ridiculous spectacles we have created for each other behind the scenes of the "long ago resolved" problem!

The result of nationalism? Yes. That too. But let us take the trouble to admit: Today, it is not only that. There is also an inevitable, though unexpected, result, that is basically the rejection of the supranational element in international education. The reaction of the living organism to all attempts to smooth off the corners "for the sake of decency."

Look how curious and amicable people become with each other if they manage to break through the restraints of the conventions imposed by stereotyped, dogmatic, or commonplace thinking—with the utmost tact and to their mutual interest, they discover important similarities in their differences and useful differences in what they have in common: How does each of them build his house? How does he cultivate the land? Raise his children? Safeguard the peace of parents? And hear the clumsy efforts with which a novice teacher (and sometimes even an experienced one), fearful of complications and emphasizing the theme of "one big happy family," seeks to cut off in advance every route to the attainment of the united and common through the individual. That is to say, he hastens to instill in his students a readymade result achieved without their participation, thus robbing them of what is, in fact, the most important thing: the labor of shared experience, the process of development as a citizen.

A person who has not grown, who has not grown up, who has not ultimately outgrown the national, a person who has received his international education in a prepackaged form, most likely has nothing to offer to other peoples. He is of no interest to them. And they are of no great interest to him. And he will be forced to become "supra," not "between." Extranational. But internationalist?

And conversely: In hampering the process of smoothing off and leveling, the national element seeks to exaggerate the size, the insuperability, of specific characteristics, which do indeed have objective, historical roots. As a result, do we not sometimes obtain a rather strange fruit: socialist in form, but national in content?

In Stepanakert we were told that under the former obkom secretary, an Armenian, let us observe, by nationality, it was for some reason not usual to mention Armenia in the pages of the local newspaper. We were told that they preferred to give jobs to people other than those educated in Yerevan ("not our cadres"). Or to people who were educated there, but only after some years of work in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (the "key point" in the curriculum vitae: by then, apparently, they were "ours"). Is that likely? Yes, apparently: The policy of unwritten taboos is very familiar. The policy of barriers: Don't mention that, don't go there.... In a word, one of those situations where a Catholic is trying to become holier than the pope....

But let us not forget the ancient precedent: The human consciousness desires the forbidden fruit above all. Try, for instance, forbidding people to turn their heads to the left—and in a couple of days, we assure you, everyone will be secretly squinting to the left: Public opinion will line up, passions will become inflamed, people will start collecting signatures, in order eventually to win the right to look exclusively in the direction that is banned!...

Although, naturally, that is not the only factor.

Having sketched out the boundaries of the problem and realized that the scale of the matter is far more significant than it appeared to us only 2 or 3 years ago, let us consider the events: ancient and recent.

Today we will visit the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR, and Yerevan, in the Armenian SSR.

What Attitude To Take [subhead]

In fact, this is the most important point, which must be understood in order to define your position and your role in events.... Let us begin with Stepanakert. We arrived here, in the center of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, on Monday afternoon. The sun was scorching, the mountain air was clear and fresh. It was very quiet in Stepanakert. It was hard to believe that thousands of people had stood in this very square. A meeting was in progress in the oblispolkom. Slogans succeeded one another neatly, reflecting the changing situations, moods, events.... What attitude should we take to this?

In Stepanakert we met with about 30 people in all. Among them were G. Pogosyan, first secretary of the party obkom, M. Musayelyan, first secretary of the Komsomol Obkom, and young inhabitants of Stepanakert.

Although these people were very different, despite a certain abruptness and heat, we had a successful dialogue in virtually every case. The crux of what was said to us can be expressed in the following points. First: We are in favor of the peoples' friendship. Second: We are in favor of Nagorno-Karabakh becoming part of Armenia. Third: We believe that without a positive solution to this question it will not be possible to overcome the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh.... What attitude should we take to this?

We listened, and remembered what people told us in Baku. First: We are in favor of the peoples' friendship. Second: We are in favor of keeping the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast within Azerbaijan. Third: We believe the problems are being resolved as things stand....

What is the solution?

We asked ourselves that question dozens of times. Other people asked it of us, too. They asked it in a decisive, blunt form: Why have you not written anything yet? And they asked it more calmly: So what are you going to write now?

Glasnost and blood... That's just it: What will be the response to what we say? We do not forget: An overheated atmosphere, in which every rejoinder, every word, interpreted again and again, could cause a virtually unpredictable reaction hundreds, even thousands of kilometers away.

We have no experience of this. Should we write? Yes, we must. How should we write? Objectively. With the fewest possible flaws. Seeking not to inflame the already seething passions. As usefully as possible. But how, specifically? Alas, no one really knows that yet. No one, that is, who is not a mere onlooker, a dispassionate observer. No one who sincerely wants the problem to be solved. No one who is concerned about the interests of the two equal republics and the USSR as a whole.

We set ourselves the task of looking at events today from various viewpoints. On the basis of the interests of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, the two republics, restructuring in that region, and restructuring as a whole. And only then defining our position, our own attitude.

In Yerevan we met with dozens of people. We took part in debates. We attended a Komsomol meeting at the university. We met with readers.

And we tried, first and foremost, to get to the bottom of what is happening.

In those February days no doubt many people did not have time to ask themselves: Was it only the events in Nagorno-Karabakh that pitched thousands of people out into the streets of Yerevan? Yes, they were responding to events in Stepanakert. An oblast soviet session was held there. The deputies petitioned the Supreme Soviets of Azerbaijan and Armenia for Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast to be transferred to Armenia. Yes, they were also spurred on by the desire to respond quickly, without time for reflection and sometimes without asking themselves: Are they choosing the right means of resolving such crucial issues, affecting state interests?

You can look at the event in the light of the historical, social, economic, cultural, and ethnic problems that undoubtedly underlie what happened. But the buildup of passions could and should have been foreseen and, most importantly, prevented.

For nearly 2 years in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast there have been collections of signatures among the population, meetings in the labor collectives, and sessions of some rayon soviets. In Armenia, over that same 2-year period, signatures have been collected for petitions. Hundreds of letters and telegrams have been sent to Moscow requesting that the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh be examined.

And what did the organs of power do? Did they react? Did they try to explain, discuss, change the course of events, take the initiative? No. They tried to ban: the collecting of signatures, for instance. In Yerevan, at rallies lasting many hours, probably not one of the leaders invested with power succeeded in winning over the audience. A direct, frank discussion did not take place. The crowd in the square seethed, because it had not received answers to the questions raised.

People were waiting for an answer—a direct, honest, open answer. And the longer it was delayed—the last days of February are the evidence of this—the thicker the crowd became in the square. The reasonable went over to the camp of the moderates, and the moderates, in turn, joined the extremists. Are they guilty of political shortsightedness? Let us think about it. They were trying—perhaps noisily, in a way our ears are not accustomed to, and in some cases clamorously—perhaps for the first time in their lives, openly to discuss very serious problems. Was it really not possible at the time—and even today it is not too late—to devise an intelligent, civilized form of debate so as to draw up fundamental solutions to the accumulated socioeconomic problems in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast that are acceptable both to the two peoples and to the country as a whole?

But let us return to Yerevan. Today many people are asking: What forces in the republic have an interest in events? This question can hardly be answered simply. Let us think about it together.

People's social activeness was aroused by restructuring, and this became particularly marked after the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum. Justified party criticism, long awaited and accepted by the people of Armenia, on the one hand. Temporizing or even resistance from those who "had a good life in the era of stagnation," on the other. Two positions. They did not become reconciled then. A characteristic detail that explains much: After the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum highly critical articles on Armenia's socioeconomic, ideological, moral, and ecological problems were published in the central press time after time. Facts were cited and very serious conclusions drawn. But at that time, nobody could have interpreted this criticism as an attempt to "flout" national dignity or present the Armenian reader to the unionwide readership in a bad light. Why not? Because the social thrust of the criticism was fully in accordance with the social expectations of broad strata of the population. Everyone was expecting renewal....

But alas, the people's social dissatisfaction remained unsatisfied. The acute problems that were raised were not resolved. And in parallel with all this, the "movement for the reunification of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia" was developing and gathering speed. Even a few months ago it was only a streamlet. For the first demonstration in October 1987, the movement's leaders managed to assemble only a couple of hundred people....

But the time came when the streamlets changed course and converged into a different, wide river. It was passivity, the lack of the necessary arguments, reluctance to deal directly with people, and the largely lost authority of the leaders that promoted the rapid growth of the newly fledged "leaders'" influence on the masses.

We are far from intending to accuse a people united by an idea. Still less do we want to pin labels on people or make premature judgments. At the same time, let us observe: There may be one idea, with different interpreters and champions. What, for instance, did certain leaders call for? Basically, their position can be expressed thus: He who is not with us, is against us. Or else why do they "stifle" anyone who tries to object or express a different viewpoint? Let us listen to one of them: The party raykoms and enterprise leaders are trying to stop us. Shame on them. We do not need leaders who are not with the people....

Or again: As a sign of protest, we should declare a 1-hour strike. It will not damage the state. We will make up the time later. It is the fact of the strike that is important....

What attitude should we take to that?

We should give credit where it is due: In response to extreme, rather risky statements, in some cases sober, reasonable voices can be heard, from, for instance, representatives of the council of elders. But where is the guarantee that the voice of reason will be heard by an often agitated audience?...

The questions that arise in connection with the "statements" of certain leaders in Yerevan are equally reasonable if you listen to the sentiments to be found in Nagorno-Karabakh. We spoke with many people there. The sentiments are similar: There are those who are trying to think realistically and soberly. But there are also those whose categorical current position is—at the very least—disturbing and perplexing. Are the people whose opinion is a force to be reckoned with here sufficiently aware of their personal responsibility to those who follow them?

No, the situation here is not as simple as it might appear to the eye of someone who has not tried to unravel the mass of problems. But one would like to believe and hope that a people raised in an international family, a people who have repeatedly offered examples of true, lofty internationalism, who are linked to the fraternal peoples by close bonds, could demonstrate the capacity to adopt reasonable, sober decisions.

The problems, however complex, can and must be tackled. But tackled not in the heat of the moment, but calmly, thoroughly, soberly.

How should they be tackled? By what means? Naturally, we have no readymade formulas. Just as there cannot yet, in our opinion, be any final, unequivocal judgments. Let us think about it, seek the paths to solutions together.... This discussion will be continued in the next issue of the newspaper.

NOVOSTI's Ignatov on Karabakh Conflict

AU281425 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
23 Mar 88 p 6

[Article by NOVOSTI political commentator Aleksandr Ignatov, "written for PRAVDA": "On the Causes of Events in Nagorno-Karabakh; Strength Lies in the Ability To Rectify Mistakes"]

[Text] Imagine a national minority that does not have enough textbooks in its mother tongue, that is denied the opportunity to learn its own history, and that does not have the opportunity to see television programs from its spiritual and cultural center. There are quite a few such cases in the world and they are naturally a source of conflict between nations and states in Western Europe, the United States, in the "Third World" countries.... And in the socialist states?

Well, conflicts on the basis of nationality—even very sharp conflicts—exist there, too. This is evidenced, for example, by the recent events in Nagorno-Karabakh, concerning two trans-Caucasian republics—Armenia and Azerbaijan. Karabakh, where about 75 percent of the inhabitants are Armenians, is an autonomous oblast of Azerbaijan. And precisely the Karabakh Armenians have been subject to the unjust circumstances mentioned above.

However, what do such phenomena have in common with socialism? A contemptuous attitude to national memorials and the history of the Armenians by the leadership of Karabakh Oblast and, probably, by someone in the Azerbaijan SSR, are not the rule, but a retreat from the rules of socialist coexistence of nations in the Land of the Soviets since 1917. But why did it happen and become a political problem? There are, in my opinion, three reasons.

First, since its inception, Soviet Russia has consistently implemented the line of elimination of any kind of nationality oppression typical of the Russian Empire. And it has created, in its way, a unique situation: The nationality periphery of our state, so to speak the "third world" of Russia, which used to lag behind the central oblasts in literally every respect (when converted into gross national product this backwardness could be expressed by a per capita ratio of 38:1), has not only caught up, but in some spheres even overtaken these oblasts in standard of living. And because the theoretical solution of the nationality issue—equality—was clear, and the practical results of changes were also obvious, many people thought that the feat had been accomplished forever, and that nationalism had thus been eliminated. We had placed our successes in that area among those dominant ideas which we have not been bothered by for a long time.

The second reason appears to be the result of the first. Despite the fact that the material situation of many nationalities has clearly improved, problems of spiritual and cultural life and the traditions of nations have come to the fore. Instead of patiently seeking the correct relationship between the national and the international, local power bodies in some districts did not pay attention to problems of a socioeconomic and cultural nature which have accumulated in relations among nations. At the same time the solution of any complex theoretical and practical issue—and the nationality issue is one of them—requires a creative approach, and not formalistic greetings messages. It will not tolerate inactivity, dead schemes, a hackneyed approach, or obfuscation.

How is one to proceed now? When the February unrest in Nagorno-Karabakh elicited a nationalistic explosion in Azerbaijan's Sumgait with 32 dead, what might happen if oblasts of one republic were to be handed over to another republic? After all, there would still be 320,000 Armenians left in the territory of Azerbaijan. Or are they all to move to Armenia? And the Azerbaijanis—are they to go home? Is it at all possible to satisfy the demands and aspirations of one nation—even though they might be justified—to the detriment of another nation?

Is it possible to tolerate unjustness at all? No, in no case. Obvious errors must be speedily rectified. People in Stepanakert—in the center of Karabakh, in Baku, Sumgait, and Yerevan are already addressing this. The restructuring of our society must help to resolve all complex issues. Restructuring, patience, and time—I do not know any other recipe. Because I do not regard violence in any of its forms—with or without victims—as being a recipe.

Could nationalism "blow up" the Land of the Soviets, then? I do not think so. Nationalism was not able to achieve that yesterday—and it will be even less capable of doing that tomorrow. In my opinion the Karabakh conflict is not the product of perestroyka, but the result of painful expectations of it.

It is no secret that in some republics changes are making headway only with difficulty. Some people are quite happy about that, and they take to streets in order not to allow the new to come to them, to preserve their privileges. Others again are taking to the streets to hasten changes and stimulate new thinking. The demonstrations in Sumgait and the disturbances in Yerevan did not occur from the victory and triumph of glasnost, but because restructuring has not come there yet, because resistance to it still endures there. And it also endures in the delicate sphere of relations between nations and nationalities. This is the third reason.

Thus, those in the West who in connection with the events in the Causasus are trying to call up the shadows of our past—allegedly, the Soviet Empire cannot be preserved without Stalin—are mistaken. No problem is solved automatically and without errors. And we were and will be strong because of our ability to admit and rectify these mistakes. However, no mistakes can invalidate the colossal successes of socialism in the sphere of

relations among nations that have been achieved in the 70 years of the existence of the Soviet system, of which the federation, consisting of more than 100 nations, is rightly proud.

Azerbaijani Urges Greater Interethnic Contacts

PM281351 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Mar 88 First Edition p 1

[Article by Azhdar Ibragimov, People's Artist of the Azerbaijan SSR, movie director, and writer, under the rubric "Our Dialogue": "Do Not Encroach on Our Friendship"]

[Text] The events which have riveted the attention of all Soviet people for more than a month now to Nagorno-Karabakh, Sumgait, and Yerevan seem unnatural, illogical, and contrary to all the principles of our socialist existence, popular morality, and even just normal human relations. Probably every one of us, to whichever of the more than 100 nations and nationalities he belongs, is asking himself the same question with pain and bewilderment: How could this have happened? We are primarily asking this question of ourselves, because the sense of personal responsibility cultivated by socialism for everything that happens in our big common home and in the family of fraternal nations has become second nature to us. Evidence of this is provided by the recently approved USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution, every line of which we read with a sense of deep understanding, supporting every provision and especially the requirement to "conduct the necessary agreed measures to strengthen socialist legality and public order and to guarantee protection for the legal interests of citizens of all nationalities." We agree wholeheartedly with this!

I am an Azerbaijani, although I have never needed to remind any of my comrades of this. I was born in 1919. My native land is not only Azerbaijan but also Turkmenia, where, in Ashkhabad, I graduated from theater school in 1940. My generation was the first to encounter the fiery storms of the Great Patriotic War. We fought side by side—Armenians and Azerbaijanis. We defended our common homeland together with representatives of all our peoples. Could we really have forgotten our fraternity at the front? Could we really have forgotten our All-Union State Institute of Cinematography, the truly international cradle of Soviet movie art, where I began studying under Mikhail Ilich Romm soon after the war? Could I ever forget my comrades in the world of art who helped me to take my first creative steps?

In 1953 I returned to Baku and shot my first pictures. But a few years later I was sent on an international mission to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, where the first national movie school was founded with our help.

Moscow has also become my home. Not only because I studied here once and have lived here for more than 20 years. The great concept of our common socialist home is made up of various "small homes." Moscow is our capital and the great multinational heart of the country....

Yes, from childhood we have been brought up in the spirit of fraternity between peoples. But we still ask ourselves the question again and again: How could these bitter events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan, and Armenia have happened? How could it have happened that over the years something was eroding and undermining our sacred principles unnoticed? After all, nothing ever happens by chance in life: As dialecticians and materialists we are aware of this. The leaves do not rustle on the tree if there is no wind. So who has profited from this? Certainly none of us. Neither the Armenians, the Azerbaijanis, nor the whole of our fraternal Union.... So who? I was recently asked this question by Aziz Nesin, an old friend of mine, a well-known writer, and laureate of the International "Lotos" Prize. I do not understand, he added, what is the point of raising the issue of joining Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia? After all, the land belongs to all of us, it is Soviet land. Yet feelings are running so high. No, something is not quite right here....

I can understand that this old comrade of mine, a real internationalist who had suffered imprisonment and persecution and satirized Turkish nationalists more than once, was thinking of something that possibly not everyone else has realized: The hum of inflammatory "voices" speaking the Armenian and Azerbaijani tongues, which has been literally choking the airwaves over Ararat! We have our own well-wishers here in the Transcaucasus: not only irresponsible elements from various unauthorized "committees" but also, unfortunately, local journalists who are obligingly "commenting" on events in their own way and appealing also to the West....

I can remember how we became acquainted with various historical documents from the relevant period when shooting the movie "The 26 Baku Commissars" in 1964. In Baku, Tbilisi, Kars, Yerevan, Aleksandropol, and many other cities and villages working people in the Transcaucasus joyfully greeted the October Revolution; meetings were held everywhere in support of Soviet power. On 31 October 1917 the Baku Soviet of Worker Deputies assumed power. An executive committee headed by Stepan Shaumyan was elected 2 November. It was precisely at that time that the Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Musavat [Azerbaijan nationalist party] members, and Dashnaki [members of Armenian nationalist party Dashnaktsutyun (Union)], who were backed by petty bourgeois strata of the population, unleashed a relentless war against Soviet power. The counterrevolutionaries initially enjoyed the support of Germany and Turkey and then also that of the Entente countries. These forces were responsible for stirring up nationalist passions, which led to a split between the Armenians and Azerbaijanis. There are shots in our film

which show how even at the most difficult moments Shaumyan, Narimanov, Azizbekov, and other people's commissars went to each other's assistance and exposed the enemies of the young Soviet power.

It also contains the following episode. People are organizing a funeral procession to mourn the victims of the national discord. An enormous crowd, sealed coffins, people weeping for those who died. Suddenly some cry: It was the Armenians who killed them! Others: The Azerbaijanis started it! Suddenly, turning to the crowd, someone asks the relatives of those who have died to come forward. But no one does. Then the lids on the coffins are raised and people see that...they are full of stones! People turn to one another and ask: Who has done this? The answer is provided by the following shots: In Iran a British general is reprimanding his consul, who has not carried out his instructions properly: "Surely you could have found a couple of Armenians or Azerbaijanis to serve the purpose?" This is a true story....

Perhaps many of those who took part in the recent events are unaware of this fact? I would not rule out this possibility. The movie was made a long time ago—more than 25 years ago. As for new movies... just try to name a movie on this subject, on our internationalism. It immediately becomes clear just how much our movie art is in debt to the people. I am quite ready to assume that those people who are now talking so much about love for their native Armenia have not really read or studied the book entitled "History of the Armenian People," published 7 years ago in just 20,000 copies and edited by Prof M. Nersisyan, which has pages about the counterrevolutionary coup of 25 July 1918 accomplished with the help of the British and about how, soon after, the "leaders of the Baku commune"—S.G. Shaumyan, P. Dzhaparidze, M. Azizbekov, I. Fioletov, and their comrades—the 26 Baku commissars—were shot by the British interventionists and Socialist Revolutionaries in the Transcaspian region.

I do not know whether the journalist from Stepanakert, from the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast party newspaper, remembered this when he gave a recent telephone interview to a BBC correspondent. I very much hope that Armenian and Azerbaijani Communists look at him through the eyes of Stepan Shaumyan and his comrades. And not only at him, incidentally...

Whatever the dreams of those who are "pouring water under the foundations of their neighbor's house" in an attempt to erode our international foundations, our common garden of friendship will continue to bloom and bear fruit. This does not mean, of course, that only Armenian and Azerbaijani Communists and patriots should draw the most serious lessons from what has happened—we must all do this. Too many unresolved problems, errors, and irresponsible decisions have built up in our country. I read in the 17 March issue of UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA, for example, that the USSR Academy of Sciences Russian Language Institute is accepting postgraduates who specialize in "Russian as a foreign language," but there was no mention of "the Russian language as a medium of interethnic communication between the peoples of the Soviet Union." But this determines the scientific level of departments in our republic universities as well as the standard of work in national departments. Everything is interconnected here. Or take the persistent talk of closing down the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography....

We have a considerable number of such examples of insufficient attention being paid to problems of such importance to the state as improving interethnic communication and improving international education. We must communicate more.

I think that television could really help to develop our art and people's international education, even if it means (and why not dream?) devoting an entire channel to this task. After all, representatives of different nationalities are not only living in their own republics but throughout the country. But I am not only talking about them (although this is important), I am talking about all of us. Could a Soviet citizen really live without Pushkin, Lesya Ukrainka, Yan Raynis, Yanka Kupala, Shota Rustaveli, Ovanes Tumanyan, Nizami, Navoi, Makhtumkuli, Dzhalil?... I am only talking about poets, although everybody can take a book of theirs down from the shelf. But how impoverished my spiritual world would be if I never went to see the great Armenian tragic actor Bagram Papazyan when he was on tour in Moscow! Surely we are robbing ourselves if we are unaware of the masterpieces each nation has to offer—in all spheres of art? The Tajik theater was in Moscow recently to stage a fine production, "Tsar Edip," but who went to see it? Our Theater of Friendship Between Peoples should not settle for any location it can find to stage such performances but should appear on a permanent basis before millions of television viewers. And not simply stage performances but talk about them, reveal the secrets and the special features of every national art—not with some Moscow critical standards but with a real knowledge of this art. According to one popular saying, if you want peace between neighbors you have to visit each other more often.

These are my thoughts today, at this still very alarming, worrying time. But we are evidently made in such a way that we not only think about the past and the present but the future as well. And the future, despite everything, is with our socialist fraternity!...

Expelled Estonian Nationalist Arrives in Sweden

AU281137 Paris AFP in English 1133 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Stockholm, March 28 (AFP)—Estonian nationalist Peeter Boetker, 19, who was expelled from the Soviet Union, arrived here Monday, the head of an aid organization for Estonian political prisoners, Jaak Jueriado, said here. Mr. Jueriado said the young nationalist had

publicly spoken out in favor of Estonian nationalism during a demonstration at Tallinn on February 24, the anniversary of the birth of the Estonian Republic. He added that Mr. Boetker had been arrested the following day and told he had to choose between doing his military service or being expelled from the country. After having been stripped of his Soviet citizenship, Mr. Boetker obtained a visa to travel to Sweden.

Shcherbitskiy Addresses Kiev Aktiv Meeting

AU280825 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 17 Mar 88 pp 2-3

[RATAU report on an aktivs meeting of Kiev Gorkom: "Let Us Accomplish Restructuring Tasks Persistently and Energetically"]

[Excerpts] The tasks of party, administrative, and economic organs, and public organizations, arising from the CPSU Central Committee decision "On the Work of Kiev Gorkom in Implementing the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress," were discussed at an aktivs meeting of Kiev Gorkom on 15 March. Participating in the proceedings were: V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, I.A. Mozgovoy, A.A. Titarenko, S.I. Gurenko, and V.D. Kryuchkov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members; V.I. Nakonechnyy, sector chief in the Organizational Party Work Department of the CPSU Central Committee; V.P. Fokin, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman and Gosplan chairman; responsible functionaries in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; and leaders of a number of the republic's ministries and departments.

K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Kiev Gorkom first secretary, delivered a report. [passage omitted]

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, addressed the meeting.

The decision adopted by the CPSU Central Committee on Kiev Gorkom's report on the work performed to implement the 27th party congress decisions, he said, is of general party importance, and its impact on the activity of the republic's party organizations is ever growing. Of course, the concrete tasks set in this decision have to be accomplished in close connection with implementing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum, and the political directives set forth in the speech delivered at the plenum by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee first secretary [title as published].

The report and the speeches delivered at this aktivs meeting convincingly showed that Kiev Communists received the CPSU Central Committee decision with a feeling of great responsibility, as a program for settling crucial restructuring tasks. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has examined reports delivered by Comrades K.I. Masik and V.A. Zgurskiy on the measures to implement the CPSU Central Committee decision.

The republic's Council of Ministers has been instructed to examine tasks which have recently become unavoidable in the economic and social development of Kiev. Particular requirements have been presented to the republic's Ministries of Housing and Municipal Services, of Construction, of Trade, and of Consumer Services, and to public education organs. The Central Committee Secretariat and departments, the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, Council of Ministers, Trade Unions Council, and Komsomol Central Committee will intensify their assistance to party, administrative, trade union, and Komsomol organizations in the city.

However, to carry the main burden is your lot, comrades. After all, assistance, no matter how generous, will be effective when the gorkom, raykoms, and soviet executive committees are significantly more vigorous and quick in restructuring their work under the conditions of glasnost and expanding democracy. This greatly depends on the gorkom bureau, gorkom secretaries, and, of course, on Comrade K.I. Masik, the gorkom first secretary.

To use Lenin's dictum, the crux of the matter now lies in ensuring that those in the "vanguard are not afraid of work on improving themselves, and of frankly admitting their lack of preparedness, lack of experience." And although, no doubt, there are positive changes, the gorkom and raykoms, as noted in the CPSU Central Committee decision, are still behind in perfecting their work on cadres and basic party organizations, and still have not got rid of formalism. A multitude of diverse measures, work plans, and conferences are evidence of the gorkom's failure to eradicate the obsolete methods of leadership. The stream of paper sometimes overwhelms the gorkom and raykom apparatus. And actual returns from all these measures are obviously insufficient.

As emphasized at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, it is essential, even before the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, to carry out solid work to restructure our political system. The point is to radically increase the role of the soviets of people's deputies as organs of people's sovereignty. The Leninist thesis that socialism is a brisk activity of the masses should be fully realized by all our cadres, and mainly should be complied with in the everyday concrete practice of restructuring. At the last gorkom plenum and at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session the shortcomings in the activity of Kiev Gorispolkom and of Comrade V.A. Zgurskiy personally were subject to a sharp criticism. However, no substantial changes or the necessary initiative are, for the time being, yet in sight.

The work of the city trade unions council (under Comrade L.N. Yakovlev) also lacks concreteness and efficiency; this applies in particular to its assistance to basic trade union organizations. Many trade union functionaries lack persistence in accomplishing imminent tasks, and hence is the lack of the necessary concrete results.

Unfortunately, many party committees and party organizations in the city are slow in overcoming a routine approach and formalism in their work with young people, and in Komsomols. This was correctly noted in the recent PRAVDA item, "Passions Over a Letter." More respect and attention, more trust and reliance on young people's initiative, independence, and their sense of quest—this is what is now needed in work on the younger generation.

Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized that the task of radically reforming the economy entailed just as much responsibility. To ensure this reform, it is essential to hasten thoroughly considered steps to perfect the structure of management in the national economy and the social sphere. This is why party committees must pay paramount attention to the analysis of the progress made in restructuring the management systems, and to the elimination of obstacles that arise in its path.

The correctness of what has been said has been confirmed by the fact that experience in the effective new management in the city was primarily accumulated under party organizations purposefully engaged in this undertaking. The experience of the "Bolshevik" production association, working under conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing for the second year running, can be regarded as a convincing example. The association put particular emphasis on increasing the role of the human factor, on encouraging the activity of each laborer, and on the wide application of collective contracting in shops, teams, and in developing new technologies. The purpose of all forms of political and economic training is to enhance in specialists and workers a new, "specific" way of thinking. All these measures produce good results.

One would think that, in restructuring the activity of all city enterprises, the party committees and trade unions make wide use of the experience of the best collectives. But this is far from true. In recent times, for example, the work of the Kiev footwear factory named after the 10th anniversary of the Ukrainian Komsomol has been very unsteady. One of the causes of this situation was the lack of a qualified and enterprising leadership at the factory. Judge for yourself: In the last 10 years, the factory exchanged four directors, five chief engineers, and four deputy directors. Moreover, the present director, Comrade V.P. Gerasimenko, was appointed in 1985 without a thorough previous examination of his personal and businesslike qualities. In a short time he managed to exchange 80 percent of the shop, section, and service chiefs, and almost all the chief specialists. And having brought the business, as they say, to a dead end, he himself applied for a transfer.

The blame for the situation is to be shared by the republic's Ministry of the Light Industry, Kiev Gorkom, and Minskiy Raykom. But it was primarily the factory's party committee (under Comrade N.P. Verbitskaya as secretary) that actually connived toward such cadre reshuffles, and thus proved to be not equal to the occasion. Of course, the situation at the factory has to be amended by common efforts, but the first thing to do is to increase the role of the basic party organization and the activity of the Communists.

It has already been said that Kiev had begun to yield its positions in accelerating scientific-technological progress. Last year, nearly half of the city's machine-building enterprises did not start production of any new equipment. The city fell short of the targets set under the comprehensive "Invention and Rationalization-90" program for applying rationalizing proposals. Although, to be fair, it is to be noted that city enterprises nearly doubled the indexes provided by this program for the number of utilized patents. Many scientific research, planning, and designing organizations continue to work ineffectively.

Of course, all this has repercussions on the quality of goods manufactured if the city. It is sufficient to say that, last year, the "Mayak" scientific and production association in Kiev received 204,000 complaints about the quality of tape recorders, or approximately one complaint for every two tape recorders produced. For this reason, our task of paramount importance is to mobilize the powerful scientific potential available in the city and to make use of it in accelerating scientific-technological progress.

Everyone should constantly bear in mind, that people judge the progress in restructuring and its results by changes taking place in life, by the rising prosperity and the settlement of social problems. Unfortunately, these questions still have received priority treatment in the activity of many party, administrative, trade union, and economic organizations in the city. The decision adopted by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers in June 1986 on measures for the further comprehensive economic and social development of Kiev is not being adequately implemented. Of course, Central Committee secretaries and leaders of the republic's Council of Ministers bear their share of the blame. Nonetheless, the main shortcomings are at the level of city organs and production collectives.

The Central Committee has instructed the Party Control Commission to examine the causes of this phenomenon and to call the culprits to account. But this is not the main thing. What matters most is the organizational work, the initiative of municipal services in all spheres,

and everyone's responsibility for the matter at hand. And precisely this is still lacking. One could cite countless examples of it. You know that fact, but in a number of cases also you connive at the manifestations of apathy and irresponsibility.

At the session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo the gorispolkom was sharply criticized for its slowness in speeding up housing construction, and for its lack of attention to social development. Indeed, the state of affairs in a number of sectors is disturbing. It is increasingly obvious that, to accomplish the task of providing each family in the city with an individual apartment or house by the year 2000, new attitudes and new ways are needed. First of all it is necessary to promote the direct labor method, housing construction cooperatives, and other forms. Opportunities for it are great. This was convincingly proved by Comrade V.V. Pasko, council chairman in the labor collective of the "Elektronmash" production association. However, the share of construction by the direct labor method is 50 percent lower in Kiev than in the republic as a whole.

The gorispolkom leaders seem to be at a loss as to what to build and where. As a result, there are violations of the principle of comprehensiveness in the development of the city and of its individual districts. Attention has been repeatedly called to the fact that Kiev has fallen short of the norms for providing its inhabitants with facilities for social and service purposes.

The number of protracted construction projects in Kiev is decreasing too slowly. The "Detskiy Mir" department store was under construction for 10 years, and the "Turist" hotel, for 12 years. The republic's Art Collectives' House and the Central Scientific Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences are still under construction after 11 years. It is a shame! But no one has been brought to personal account for this, and thorough measures have not been taken. This is why new projects continue to be launched. In the last 10 years, the number of projects in the city each year ranged between 1,000 and 1,500, and a half of them were recently begun.

The program worked up for the period ending in the year 2000 calls for building in the city 575,000 apartments and a big number of establishments for sociocultural and service purposes. The city's comprehensive development calls for capital investments totaling R14.7 billion. To cope with this task, the constructors must build up their forces, and must solve on time problems in the construction industry's base, cadres, and so forth. What has to be built is actually another Kiev. And all this has to be done without changing the city's unique features.

All important problems involving city construction have to be broadly discussed, and an ear has to be lent to public opinion. This will make it possible, on the one hand, to evade serious mistakes, and on the other, it will help promote civic spirit and responsibility among our people.

Moreover, the rate of crimes in the city is subsiding slowly. The cult of profit, parasitic mentality, and self-seeking aspirations are penetrating our milieu, particularly the younger generation. All this shows that we must intensify educational work significantly. To restructure mentality and to shape a new way of thinking is not a simple undertaking, and it takes a firm hold in controversy, in heated debates. Every Communist, and especially the aktiv, has no right to evade sharp polemics. On the contrary, he must actively participate in them. Party and administrative functionaries, as well as economic cadres, must dominate the art of political contacts and of political agitation. It is important for them to address audiences, to appear on television and radio, to write in the press, and to explain acute problems concerning people. Alas, many of them have proved to be unprepared for this work.

Party committees and administrative organs are frequently slow to pose and to settle problems involving the interests of people. This is often being done when public opinion is upset and critically disposed. This is the wrong attitude. It is essential to make use of all means of propaganda and agitation, to raise the political culture of people in every way, and to foster their faith in the success of restructuring.

In this connection, the mass media has a great responsibility. The present heated critical remarks are frightening for some people. The CPSU Central Committee's attitude on these matters is unequivocal: Any suppression of and disregard for criticism, and the defense of those who resist and hinder restructuring are incompatible with the interests of the party and of our society as a whole. To speak about everything honestly, truthfully, and in a responsible way, and to strive to eliminate the revealed shortcomings without fail—this is the general party line which we steadily pursue and will pursue.

One of the urgent tasks of the press is to publish more interesting information about the practice of restructuring, and about the changes taking place for the better in labor collectives. More support has to be given to initiative as a social value. Without initiative and innovations stagnation is unavoidable, because life becomes less dynamic.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy then emphasized: As noted at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, a unique feature of our culture and of our entire life lies in its multinational nature. Last year the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee approved a broad range of measures to perfect nationality relations, and to intensify the internationalist and patriotic education of the population. And the city's party committees and many basic party organizations have invigorated their efforts in this sector.

However, far from everything has been done. This was said by Comrades K.I. Masik, B.I. Oleynik, and G.F. Garmash. In particular, the principle of local Russian

bilingualism has not been approached everywhere in a well thought out manner. At the same time a blind eye must not be turned on the fact that pronouncements with lapses in obvious national narrow-mindedness have recently become more frequent, including in the press. Unfortunately, these pronouncements have not always been correctly evaluated from the political point of view. And it is clear that our scientific and ideological cadres temporize sometimes. It is to be borne in mind that authentic internationalism and true friendship among peoples are only possible under the condition that there is deep respect for the dignity, honor, language, and culture not only of one's own, but also of every other people. And the purpose of restructuring is to put—in the most resolute and, of course, democratic way—an end to any deviation from these Leninist principles.

In conformity with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum, a great deal has to be done to restructure the entire system of public education.

First of all, it is essential to reinforce teaching cadres, to boost their prestige, and to improve their working and living conditions. Much attention and assistance are needed from party organizations at educational institutions. Point two is to strengthen the material-technical base of public education at all levels.

Constant attention is to be paid, of course, to pupils and students, including their everyday needs. It is disturbing, for example, that since the beginning of the current 5-year period, providing Kiev students with boarding houses has gotten worse. The gorispolkom along with the Ukrainian Gosplan and appropriate ministries and departments must act resolutely to improve this situation.

The unsatisfactory organization of public catering in a number of Kiev general education, vocational, and technical schools must not be tolerated any longer. In this respect, effective steps have to be taken.

The need for developing a material base for cultural, educational, physical cultural, and recreative work in students' campuses, for making fuller use of sports facilities, palaces of culture, and clubs available in the city has been discussed repeatedly. But the matter has not advanced. The gorkom must take the city committee for physical culture and sports, public and vocational-technical education organs, and leaders of educational institutions to earnest account for the state of the younger generation's physical education.

We all are unanimous, V.V. Shcherbitskiy said at the end, that our party is the initiator and driving force of restructuring. Consequently, all party links should struggle—and if need be, fight with all the strength—for restructuring. After all, time passes, and the time has come for all to launch a resolute attack on all obstacles hindering the accomplishment of this historic task.

However, many party organizations still have not reached the target lines, and party organs treat the former's work in an insufficient and superficial manner. For this reason there are still many deficiencies and omissions, and in a number of sectors the work results are unsatisfactory.

This is why each of us must think over, must critically evaluate what has been done, and find an answer to the questions: What is the matter, in what way are we deficient? What are the concrete faults of the bureau or the party committee as a whole, and what are those of the secretary and of each functionary at the corresponding level individually? And of course, the necessary measures must be taken on time. After all, as M.S. Gorbachev correctly noted at his meeting with the working people of the first state bearings plant, the enemy of restructuring lies nestled within ourselves. Consequently, we all must roll up our sleeves, eliminate the shortcomings, and act persistently and resolutely. Both our present day and our morrow, our future in the true sense of the word depend on it.

The aktivs meeting adopted a resolution on the issue examined, and approved comprehensive measures to implement the CPSU Central Committee decisions.

Kiev Aktiv Meeting Reviews CPSU CC Resolution

PM241009 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Report by PRAVDA correspondents M. Odinets and I.Tikhomirov: "Quest for New Approaches. From the Meeting of the Party Aktiv in Kiev"]

[Text] Kiev—It has already been announced that a meeting of the party aktiv held in Kiev has discussed the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Work of the Kiev City Party Organization To Fulfill the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress." K. Masik, party gorkom first secretary, delivered the report.

The keynote speaker and other speakers noted that this resolution is of partywide significance and is having an ever increasing influence on the work of the republic's party organizations. It was said that the concrete tasks set in this important document are closely linked with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum and with the political directives contained in the speech there by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. All the speeches clearly voiced the thought that Kiev Communists acknowledged their high responsibility and saw the decisions of the Central Committee plenum and the Central Committee resolution as a work program to resolve the key tasks of restructuring.

Fully sharing the Central Committee assessments and conclusions expounded in the resolution, the speakers said that it pointed to the positive changes taking place—

the broadening of glasnost and establishment of democratic principles in production management and work with cadres. The growing rates of development of the city's economy were given their due.

Along with this, however, a principled conclusion was drawn that restructuring has not as yet penetrated the life of the city's primary party organizations and labor collectives. Time was wasted in its initial phase and at the present work has not been developed to remove the accretions of the past and the burden of old habits and approaches in improving the style and methods of organizational and ideological work. The principle of collective leadership, criticism and self-criticism, and comradely exactingness have not been duly developed. The struggle for pure, honest party members is not being waged adequately, some CPSU members have lost interest in internal party affairs, and at times exactingness toward cadres for the matter with which they have been entrusted is inadequate. Many of them have not learned to work under conditions of developing democracy and are slow in assimilating new approaches in economic leadership and in resolving social problems.

Certain practical conclusions were drawn from the criticism when the question was being prepared for discussion in the CPSU Central Committee. Special working groups on key problems in the life of the city party organization were formed from gorkom members. Commitments have been redistributed among the gorkom secretaries. The tasks arising from the resolution are now being discussed at meetings in rayon primary party organizations, and ways are being outlined to fulfill them. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has examined the priority measures to be taken by the party gorkom and the gorispolkom and has instructed the secretariat, Central Committee departments, and the republic's government to give the city businesslike aid designed to deepen restructuring and accelerate socioeconomic development. The party gorkom bureau has prepared and submitted for broad discussion comprehensive measures to fulfill the resolution.

In analyzing the state of affairs, the reasons for the slow progress along the path of radical economic reform, and the disruptions in a number of areas, the meeting participants asked the legitimate question: Why is sluggishness permitted, and why are new approaches in economic leadership only being assimilated timidly?

"The point is," G. Nechitovskiy, first secretary of Shevchenkovskiy Party Raykom, said, "that many party committees have still not become combat headquarters for restructuring. Mountains of paper continue to be written, and many people think that it is sufficient to adopt a resolution and then everything will happen on its own."

Other speakers talked about the fact that the party gorkom has still not eradicated obsolete leadership methods.

"Changes in the work style of the party gorkom apparatus are slow appearing," M. Gorovenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Zaliznichniy Raykom, stated.

The following example was cited. K. Masik, N. Sergeyev, and S. Voloshinaya, party gorkom secretaries, and V. Kocherga, V. Barulenkov, and V. Salnikov, gorispolkom deputy chairmen, were personally tasked at the gorkom plenum with radically improving the state of affairs in the corresponding avenues of work. But a great deal of time has elapsed, and changes for the better have by no means been achieved everywhere.

The targets for the production of 12 out of 53 most important types of product were not met for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan. The planned targets for the manufacture of output in the top quality category, the reduction of manual labor, the renewal of equipment, and retail commodity turnover have not been achieved.

The speakers criticized the gorkom for the fact that Kiev has begun to lose ground in accelerating scientific and technical progress. Last year almost half of the city's machine building enterprises did not assimilate any new equipment at all.

We must constantly remember, V. Lutovinov, team leader at the "Kiyevskiy Radiozavod" Association, P. Talanchuk, rector of a polytechnical institute, and G. Garmash, secretary of Leningradskiy Party Raykom, pointed out, that people will judge the course of restructuring and its results, above all, by how their life has changed, how prosperity grows, and how social tasks are resolved. Unfortunately, these questions have still not assumed a priority place in the activity of the city's party, soviet, trade union, and economic organizations. In accordance with the program through the year 2000 which the city has elaborated, it is planned to commission almost 575,000 apartments and a large number of sociocultural and consumer establishments. The comprehensive development of the city will require R14.7 billion of capital investments. To achieve this, construction workers must expeditiously resolve the problems of the construction industry base, cadres, and so forth.

Dwelling on questions of ideological work, the meeting participants drew particular attention to the need to better study public opinion and take it into consideration in all spheres of the life of the republic's capital. The restructuring of mentality and the new way of thinking are, they said, not a simple matter. This is affirmed in the struggle of opinions and in heated disputes. Every Communist, especially our aktiv, has no right to evade the keen controversy.

There was a timely and topical ring to the words of writer B. Oleynik, who called for development and strengthening of friendship between the Soviet peoples, concern for the unity of national cultures and the flourishing of Ukrainian literature and language, and the education of the masses in the heroic examples of the past.

There were also so-called routine banal speeches at the aktiv meeting and speeches with an economic slant. Some talked more about tasks "in general" than about the concrete ways of resolving them and the means and methods of achieving the goal. There were also signs of persisting, excessive caution in taking a critical approach to assessing the activity of the party gorkom and its secretaries.

The party aktiv meeting approved comprehensive measures to implement the CPSU Central Committee resolution.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the meeting.

Ideological Conference Meets in Kiev
AU280813 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 16 Mar 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "Discussing Important Issues"]

[Text] Obkom and Kiev Gorkom Agitation and Propaganda Department chiefs and Kiev City Raykom secretaries in charge of ideology met on 14-15 March at a seminar-conference in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee headquarters. They examined the progress made in the republic in restructuring ideological and political educational work in light of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum and the speech delivered at the plenum by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and exchanged experiences in implementing the 27th CPSU Congress decisions in practice, and in perfecting the ideological, moral, internationalist, patriotic, and labor education of the working people. In the party committee office of the Kiev Lathe-Building Association a conversation was held with the enterprise's party aktivs on the organization of ideological work under conditions of reforming the economy and promoting democracy and glasnost.

Participating in the seminar-conference discussion were Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, and L.M. Kravchuk, Propaganda and Agitation Department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Ideological Conference Held in Chernovtsy
AU281317 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 22 Mar 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "A Conference Was Held"]

[Text] "The political consciousness of the working people and its role in restructuring social relations" was the subject examined at an all-union scientific and practical conference held recently in Chernovtsy under the auspices of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, Chernovtsy Obkom, the Higher Party School in Kiev, and the Chernovtsy State University.

The conference participants examined topical questions concerning improvements in the ideological activity of party organizations, the renewal of its forms and methods, the further democratization of the entire public life, restructuring in the secondary and the higher schools, and the development of the entire educational complex.

The speakers at the conference were: Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee; N.N. Nivalov, Chernovtsy Obkom first secretary; and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Zh.T. Toshchenko, social sciences department chief at the academy.

Tajik Party Plenum Discusses Education
PM281319 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Major Political Issue"]

[Text] Dushanbe, 26 Mar—Until recently Tajikistan had not really gotten down to solving questions of public education. This critical assessment made at the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum determined the content of the debate at today's Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Plenum.

The report by K.M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, on the results of the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum and Communists' tasks in implementing its decisions and the other speeches specially noted the neglect of the material and technical base of education. Only one-third of schools are housed in standard buildings. Some 80 percent of schools have to accommodate children on two or three shifts. There is a thriving kolkhoz where the school buildings have holes in the roof. In many places concern for the rising generation is pushed into the background. Party leadership of public education still does not match up to the demands of the time.

Overall, the plenum regarded the tasks of restructuring secondary and higher education and educating young people as major political issues called upon to ensure the program of society's political and socioeconomic renewal.

Afghan Veterans Meet at State Institute

PM281407 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at Institute"]

[Text] A meeting was held at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations between students who have served in the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan and V.M. Nikiforov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR deputy foreign minister. The former internationalist servicemen described their life and study and made a number of practical suggestions aimed at deepening the restructuring of instruction and education work in the institute.

Specific measures to coordinate military-patriotic work in the Moscow State Institute of International Relations with the activity of the City Council of Internationalist Servicemen and the City and All-Union Councils of War and Labor Veterans were discussed during the meeting.

Rector R.S. Ovinnikov and other institute leaders took part in the meeting.

Further on Gorkiy Anniversary Meeting

LD282015 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Today marks the 120th anniversary of the birth of Aleksey Maksimovich Gorkiy, the great master of the word, the outstanding humanist and patriot, and the founder of socialist literature. A solemn session, which was held in Moscow today at the Moscow Arts Theater building in Tverskiy Bulvar, was devoted to this notable date. In the presidium were Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Yakovlev, Demichev, well-known writers, scientists, masters of the arts, and representatives of party and public organizations.

The solemn meeting was opened by Comrade Karpov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Writers Union. [passage omitted]

On the platform is Academician Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. [passage omitted]

A speech was delivered at the solemn meeting by Comrade Kuznetsov, director of the Institute of World Literature of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Yuriy Bondarev, deputy chairman of the board of the RSFSR Writers Union; Yanis Peters, chairman of the Board of the Latvian Writers Union; Boris Oleynik, secretary of the Board of the Ukrainian Writers Union; and Sergey Zalygin, editor in chief of the NOVYY MIR magazine, also addressed the participants in the meeting.

After the solemn meeting a performance of "The Lower Depths," produced by the USSR Moscow Gorkiy Arts Theater was given. [video shows huge portrait of Gorkiy hanging over the presidium with drapes behind. As the camera pans along the presidium identifiable in the front row are Gorbachev, Yakovlev, Vorotnikov and Karpov, with Demichev sitting in row behind them]

Briefs

Chernobyl Personnel in New City

The first hundreds of keys to new apartments were handed to residents of the newly built city of Slavutich in the Ukraine on Saturday. The city already has shopping centers, schools, child care centers, a public library, and a hospital. Among those who will settle in Slavutich, going up on the bank of the river Dnieper, are personnel of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, 50 km away. Prior to the accident at the plant they lived in the city of Pripet, from where they were evacuated. Twenty thousand people will live in Slavutich, which is to be populated by the end of this year. In the future its population will increase one and a half times. [Text] [*LD280002 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 27 Mar 88*]

Economic

Local 'Timidity' Still Obstructing Reforms

PM230951 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, Mar 88 (Signed to Press 10 Mar 88) pp 1, 2

[Editorial: "At the Decisive Stage of Restructuring. Approaching the 19th All-Union Party Conference"—boldface as published]

[Text] Today, with restructuring at a new and decisive stage, we are once more turning to the events which marked the beginning of favorable changes in society and revolutionary renewal of socialism. This spring marks the passage of 2 years since the time when the 27th party congress concluded its work, and 3 years since the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum.

These years abound with events of tremendous and crucial importance for the fate of the party, the country, and even the whole world, events whose essence was provided by restructuring.

Life itself proves that the decisions made by the party have a revolutionizing effect on all aspects of our life, primarily because they accord with the interests of people in their millions.

A radical transformation of the material and technical base has been launched, social relations—and economic relations in the first place—are changing. Profound changes in people's attitude to work are taking place in front-ranking enterprises. The material and spiritual conditions of Soviet people's life are being transformed, the entire system of political, social, and ideological institutions is being activated.

All this, taken together, has substantially changed the political situation and the moral-psychological climate in the country.

The breakout from stagnation was also helped by the fact that the party frankly pinpointed the causes of the prevailing situation, revealed the mechanism which applied the brakes to our development, and made a principled assessment of it. The term **lessons in truth** has been used to describe the results of the forthright analysis of the past—of the negative processes which developed within society in the seventies and early eighties—which clears the way to the future.

The CPSU Central Committee January and June (1987) and February (1988) Plenums were a logical continuation of the party's theoretical and practical work to concretize the strategic course of revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of Soviet society's life.

The jubilee festivities and party documents devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution constituted an important event not only in domestic but also in international life. The report "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues," which offered considered and objective assessments of the entire path traveled so far and of all its most important stages and political struggle, is a **lesson in history**, a genuine **school of truth.**

It must be bluntly said: This is a hard school, and some time will have to pass before we all "graduate" from it. The history lessons cannot be learned without hard work and, moreover, they have proved to be beyond some people's capacities.

There are some who, for various reasons, strive not so much honestly to learn the difficult lessons of history as to promote their own "schools" and assessments, which actually means juggling with labels and replacing one half-truth with another. Against the background of the assessments made by the party, we perceive with particular clarity the bias of individual current affairs writers and literary figures, their efforts to fill in the "blank spots" in history with sensational and deliberately shocking reports. What is this—militant dilettantism, or a deliberate attempt to confuse the "gullible public"? Whatever: Neither the one nor the other is acceptable. It is intolerable, the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum said, that time-serving pieces which obscure rather than cast light on history should be offered to the broad public instead of truly scientific studies.

An analysis of the entire course of society's development and its prospects convincingly shows: **There is no alternative to restructuring!** Its highway leads through all-around democratization, development of the people's self-management, and radical economic reform.

As a result of the efforts being made by the party, there has been success in boosting people's interest in public affairs, their activeness and initiative. What is important here are practical deeds and creative activity by each and every one, because we have entered **a new stage of restructuring,** we are now living through **a crucial time** when the entire policy and all decisions are translated into **specific deeds.** The USSR Law on the State Enterprise came into force 1 January 1988, about 20,000 labor collectives started working in conditions of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing, new organizational structures are being introduced, and substantial changes are being made in the functions of ministries and departments. Transformations are affecting the economic and moral interests of an increasingly large mass of people, of social groups and strata of the population.

The draft USSR Law on the Cooperative System has been submitted for nationwide discussion. A thorough and comprehensive analysis of all its provisions and elaboration of precise formulations checked against Lenin's concept of the cooperative system—this is also a school for management of restructuring, for cultivating an active civic stance.

Considerable difficulties stand in the way of restructuring, but the party knows that they can be overcome with broad support from the people. This support exists because the party decisions are in harmony with the vital aspirations of the working masses, of all honest people who wish and strive to live according to conscience, truth, and their labor, according to the principles of legality, justice, and glasnost. But not all manage to do so as yet. The braking mechanism has still not been totally dismantled, bureaucratic layers have not been removed, and the brazen economic mismanagement, wage leveling, and parasitism which carry a powerful charge of immorality have not been overcome. It can be said that we are still living through a painful, at times very painful, process of healing society, its economy, and its morals.

Let us go no further back than the introduction of state acceptance. How many situations of sharp conflict did it create! Not only because it "hit" the "gross volume" approach, and consequently the workers' pockets (the mass of workers actually supported this extreme measure)—it revealed the real creed of economic leaders who are verbally "struggling" to improve quality but are actually striving to shift what at times they know to be substandard output beyond the enterprise's gates.

The editorial office mailbag still contains numerous letters on the subject: "Restructuring has not yet reached us" or, more specifically, "What sort of glasnost is this, if

people are persecuted for criticizing"; "Our labor collective council was elected in line with orders from above"; or "What has happened to the independence proclaimed by the Law on the Enterprise if state orders cover the entire output, its packaging, spare parts, and even scrap metal?"

Many, very many letters not only raise such questions but also contain blunt criticism and indignation targeted on those who only revamp old and useless practice condemned by the party and the people.

What is the point at issue here? Resistance to restructuring? Yes, there is resistance from conservative forces.

"It is necessary to learn to identify, expose, and neutralize maneuvers by the adversaries of restructuring, those who apply the brakes to work, put spokes in the wheels, feel maliciously pleased with difficulties and failures, and try to drag us back into the past," the report "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues" said.

But there is also the passiveness and timidity of working people themselves, who are still not decisive enough, who have still not realized that they must take all the levers of management into their hands.

Those who believe (and this viewpoint is current) that bureaucratic and conservative forces are entrenched somewhere at the top, in ministries and departments, while negative attitudes have been fully eliminated below, are in state of profound confusion. No, the habit of receiving unearned wages is still with us, and we have not yet fully overcome the misconception of social guarantees which led to the notorious wage leveling and has grown deep roots in the practice of labor remuneration. (It is this obsolete stereotype that produced gross distortions of the new conditions of labor remuneration, with these conditions being introduced at the cost of blanket reductions in the salaries of highly skilled workers.) And how about the formalism which is used in attempts to produce the semblance of introducing team contracts and intraplant economic accountability? How about the downright insuperable adherence to administrative methods of leadership, the ineradicable faith in their omnipotence, and the fanatical belief in the power of paperwork?!

Of course—and this must be realistically understood—the renewal of society cannot fail to affect the interests of those who took advantage of the nature of socialism, were not paid according to their labor, and led a comfortable life, those who held "cushy jobs" without giving anything to society during the period of stagnation, and those who took advantage of the decline of public monitoring and the slackening of discipline and responsibility for frankly selfish purposes. They perceive the imposition of even elementary order as encroaching on the foundations of socialism. The logic here is obvious: Once their striving and custom to live at society's expense have been affected, society itself is in jeopardy.

Against the background of society's renewal, we perceive with increasing clarity the figures of so-called "defenders" of Marxism-Leninism and all sorts of mourners for socialism who believe that both are in jeopardy.

The cause of such fears, the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum noted, lies in the different perception of the actual essence of restructuring and its present stage. For some people it is nothing but a cosmetic operation, a kind of insignificant "modification" of the existing mechanism having nothing to do with its radical transformation.

Others perceive restructuring as total negation of everything gained in the course of socialist building, a complete dismantling of socialism, a rejection of its values, and their replacement by a collection of specimens of bourgeois liberalism and nationalism.

Yet others, in their turn, are distinguished by forgetting the objective logic of restructuring and using demagogical camouflage and radical phraseology to cover up their striving to gain the results of restructuring at once, to replace daily, painstaking, and strenuous work with the emission of more and more new programs and slogans. All this enjoys support among the timid and politically naive, among those who nurture the illusory hope that the top bosses will suddenly issue an order and everything will change at once, without any work or worry about improving things.

Glasnost and comprehensive democratization make it possible to overcome all these confusions and map out the only correct path to achieve a new qualitative state of society. Developing glasnost in action means learning democracy, it means overcoming the striving of functionaries to maintain anonymity in decisionmaking and lack of responsibility for the actual course of affairs. It also means being able to counter the demagogue's zeal to blather as he pleases with a clear-cut, considered, and well-argued program of action elaborated in the course of broad and open discussion.

Only real, rather than ostensible, participation by working people in the management of production and all of society's affairs can guarantee that broad glasnost will become the norm in every labor collective.

Material and ideological prerequisites for this are created by the radical economic reform, the independence given to enterprises, and the substantial expansion of the soviets' powers.

Democratization and radical reform were described as the key problems of society's development which determine the fate of restructuring. **There can be no democratization without reform, and reform cannot be successfully implemented without democratization, because economic**

reform, development of the processes of democratization and glasnost, and renewal of the spiritual-moral sphere are all links in the same chain, closely interconnected and interdependent.

Reform and democratization are two elements of one and the same task, and it is hardly correct to split its solution between the administration and the party committee, as some people try to do in places. You leaders, they say, can tackle reform and self-financing, while we party officials will expand democracy and glasnost. No, they must both tackle everything simultaneously: Only the approach, style, and method of work must be different.

Is there any need to prove this to anyone?

Alas, there is! Evidence of this can be seen in numerous instances revealed by our mail and reports by our correspondents. Here are just a few extracts.

One of Moscow's party raykoms (only one?) firmly told enterprise directors who hinted that the former "inspection" style of work is not quite compatible with the Law on the Enterprise:

"The Law on the Enterprise is for enterprises. It does not apply to the raykom!"

In other words, they let them know that nothing would change in mutual relations with enterprises. What is this: misunderstanding, or unwillingness to abandon the old style of work?

But the former methods are misfiring increasingly frequently. Matters at times reach the point of absurdity. By way of an example, here is what our own correspondent in Siberia reported:

The introduction of state acceptance unexpectedly obscured the successes and glory of the collective of "Biyskprodmash" Production Association, repeated winner in the all-union socialist competition. Evidently, not only the production unit but also the administration and the party organization proved unprepared for such tests. The Biysk Party Gorkom decided to conduct an on-the-spot investigation and assist the party committee. A so-called "gorkom day" was organized in the enterprise. But, judging by the city newspaper's report, gorkom officials did not succeed in fully grasping the situation because they failed to... obtain protocols of all party meetings in all the shops. It is difficult to say, the newspaper reported with regret, what communists in the foundry shop had to say: There are no protocols!

So this is the crux of the matter! It appears that paperwork is, just as before, the sole argument and source of information.

An exceptional case? Possibly. But it is even worse when the party committee unreservedly takes a stance on the administration's side and actually participates in persecution of any public criticism. This also happens, unfortunately. The press, including EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, has repeatedly analyzed such occurrences. What are their roots? Why do they occur?

Each individual case may have its own specific motives. There does seem to be, however, a common element: Party committees and their secretaries (and even just party apparatus officials) seem to lose their bearings most frequently when they fail to perceive their position and role in restructuring, when their prestige in the collective declines, and when they are no longer its leading force and generator of ideas.

Yes, we can be proud to say that restructuring was launched at the party's initiative and the party began it with itself. Quest for and elaboration of new forms and methods for the democratization of all social life and party leadership of restructuring are now under way along a broad front at local level—and this is a key task now. Attention was essentially focused on its solution at the recent plenums of raykoms, gorkoms, obkoms, and union republic Communist Party Central Committees, which were widely covered by the press. The idea that ran through the extensive coverage of the plenums was: **The faster party committees master the political methods of leadership, the easier it will be to swiftly implement radical reform and the broader will be the potential for democracy.**

This is the path to be followed in preparation for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The potential of democracy is the most reliable potential of restructuring. The main task today is to make active use of it. Broad democratization of society's entire political system and of all public institutions, the creation of a mechanism of power and management with accurately attuned democratic monitoring and socialist self-management by the people, the activation of the party's role as nucleus of our society's political system, and development of intraparty democracy—all these are guarantees of society's qualitative renewal, guarantees of its socioeconomic progress.

Effects of Progressive Income Tax Explained

PM251141 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

[V. Tolstov interview with Yu. Zemskov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Finance Consolidated State Revenues and Taxation Department, under the rubric "News Panorama": "Tax on Cooperatives"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A new taxation system affecting cooperatives and citizens engaged in individual labor activity will come into force on 1 April. Our correspondent met with Yu. Zemskov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Finance Consolidated State Revenues and Taxation Department.

[Tolstov] Cooperatives and individual labor activity only became part of our economic life quite recently. Why has the need to change the taxation system for them arisen so soon?

[Zemskov] It is now a question of turning the development of cooperatives and individual labor activity in the direction needed by society and eliminating the negative features which have made themselves felt.

It is also necessary to ensure that income is distributed fairly. As you know, the tax on cooperatives' revenue is not very great: only 2-3 percent in the first year of work and up to 10 percent after the third year. This preferential taxation allows cooperatives to quickly consolidate their material position, build up reserve funds, above all for production development, and pay off banks and other creditors. The state has an interest in seeing cooperatives expand their activity, and that is why the level of these taxes will not be changed.

But, as practice has shown, by no means all cooperatives are using these privileges to expand production. Their revenue is distributed in such a way that a considerable proportion is used to pay wages. We cannot turn a blind eye to this, because in this case the taxation system must be quite different. That is why progressive income tax is being introduced.

[Tolstov] So what percentage are we talking about?

[Zemskov] In cases where the personal income of cooperative members is not more than R500 per month, the amount of tax deducted will not be changed. But for higher incomes the progression of tax rates has been increased and could reach 90 percent. Let us suppose that a cooperative member's income has reached R700 per month. In this case he will have R120.20 deducted, or 17.2 percent. For an income of R900 the tax rate will rise to 24.5 percent and R220.20 will be deducted. Tax on R1,000 will stand at 27.2 percent, or R270.20. An income of R1,500 will have R620.20 deducted, or 41.3 percent; R2,000—53.5 percent; R2,500—60.8 percent.

Some cooperatives make voluntary donations to the Peace Fund, the Culture Fund, children's homes, and other good causes. This money will not be liable to taxation.

[Tolstov] Do you not think that increasing taxes on cooperative members' personal income, on the one hand, will act as a constraint on their sense of enterprise and, on the other, may force them to dodge?

[Zemskov] Cooperatives will be obliged to submit a declaration of their income to financial and banking organs every quarter. Tax evasion will lead to confiscation of the sum concealed and the imposition of a fine, which will be 10 percent of that sum. Repeated breaches of tax regulations could result in the termination of the cooperative's work. Special tax inspectorates, which will be attached to financial organs, will be responsible for monitoring payment.

As far as the material incentives are concerned, I believe they are still sufficiently high.

[Tolstov] How will the new taxation system affect the interests of people engaged in individual labor activity?

[Zemskov] Practice has shown that the size of the license payment laid down in the republics by their councils of ministers by no means always corresponds to the average income of individual workers. The result of this is that those who work under license pay the state less than those who take out a registration certificate and pay income tax. This is also discussed in letters sent to the Ministry of Finance. Now the right to establish the size of the license payment may be given to local soviets. They are more familiar with citizens' material conditions and the type of demand for goods and services in their rayon or city. Moreover, a soviet may, for example, make a concession for the member of a large family and reduce the license payment for an invalid or not take any payment at all.

The law also stipulates that all tax on the revenue of cooperatives and their members, all income tax imposed on citizens by financial organs, and payments for individual labor licenses are to be paid directly into local budgets. This should give local organs an interest in the development of cooperatives and individual labor activity.

[Tolstov] If, contrary to expectation, the state's new tax policy begins to have an oppressive effect on the development of cooperatives and individual labor activity, what then?

[Zemskov] Then we will have to take another look at the problem to see what is not working or what is working against society's interests. But I must say that the decisions made were dictated by real conditions, established on the basis of public opinion, and therefore should work.

Lvov Association To Offer Shares to Employees

PM221525 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA special correspondent V. Vukovich: "Bank Branch and Stock at 'Konveyyer'"]

[Text] Lvov—Let me acquaint you with a new acronym—GASP. This is what it means: State Joint-Stock Socialist Enterprise.

This is what the Lvov "Konveyyer" Production Association is going to be called. A branch of the USSR Savings Bank will soon be opening at it.

The news may interest not only those who have links with the manufacturers of transport assembly lines, robots, and manipulators, or who have come here to learn about work in conditions of full economic accountability [khozraschet]. The enterprise is obviously thriving. Last year it obtained R3.7 million in excess of expected profits. It still decided to become a GASP although it could easily continue to live comfortably in its present financial prosperity.

"Demands are increasing," General Director V. Vologzhin explained his intentions. "Social and production. When we calculated what kind of profit we would have by the end of the 5-year plan, it was evident that we would not manage without attracting additional funds. In a case like that it is easy to take one's begging bowl to the bank. But our labor collective's council proposed calling for the pooling of capital which would come from shareholders working in the association."

"What are the priority requirements?"

"Primarily those connected with social development. We must build our own clinic. We want to have a boarding house on the Black Sea. That is aside from expanding the housing stock. Updating technological processes is not cheap. Equipment needs to be bought. Otherwise it is inconceivable that our products will be accepted on the foreign market. As you can see, money must be spent..."

The general director showed me some specimen shares. They are of various denominations. Like securities, they have a specific design and a specific color. But on some "Material Security Fund" is inscribed, whereas on others the inscription is "Personal Investment." The difference was explained by financial department chief G. Novikova.

"Any enterprise that has operated with us for 3 years can buy and issue shares to the value of 2 months' salary or wages. This is done using the resources of the collective material incentives fund. The purely psychological aspect of it is that everyone feels he is the owner of part of the capital earned for self-support. People acquire the second type of share with their own money, to the value of 1 month's salary or wages. Annual interest is the same, but it depends on enterprise work results. If you want higher interest you work as well as you can. There is yet another aspect to this involvement: The value of the shares is entered in the owner's personal account and it will start to yield interest.

"Putting personal money into the GASP pot is a voluntary matter. All you have to do is apply to be a shareholder. Your request will not be turned down. But to avoid a situation where people start living on the interest, there is a proviso: Work 15 years at the enterprise and you get the right to a repeat purchase of securities. After 20 years you can buy again. But always to the value of 2 months' salary or wages. If you commit a gross violation of labor or production discipline or public order, the shop or service collective can take away your annual interest.

"Some 3,500 people at 'Konveyyer' will be participating in the shareholding exercise. The administration will dispose of the common money taking into account the collective's opinion. Of course, there will have to be a multitude of financial operations and we cannot do without the branch of the bank. Official permission to open it has been obtained. Some R15,000 rubles a year will be paid to the USSR Savings Bank for the service."

This has been a first draft of the picture that lies behind the new acronym—GASP. The State Joint-Stock Socialist Enterprise has obtained the right to exist experimentally. It has to stand the test of practical experience and demonstrate that the common phrase "everyone is in charge of the enterprise" can be made flesh.

Agricultural

Collective Farmers Congress 25 Mar Proceedings

PM281450 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Mar 88 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on the Work of the Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers"]

[Text] The concluding session of the congress took place in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses 25 March. Taking part in the debates on the report on accelerating the socioeconomic development of kolkhozes under the new conditions of economic management and democratization of management and on the draft Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR and amendments to the kolkhoz Model Charter were: A.Ya. Ernst, chairman of the "Zarya Altaya" Kolkhoz in Zavyalovskiy Rayon, Altay Kray, and Hero of Socialist Labor; A.M. Shchepanovskiy, chairman of the "Prapor Lenina" Kolkhoz in Borshchevskiy Rayon, Ternopol Oblast; P.A. Voropayev, chairman of the "Vpered k Kommunizmu" Kolkhoz in Konstantinovskiy Rayon, Amur Oblast; P.S. Fedirko, chairman of the Tsentrosoyuz board; A.A. Zyryankov, director of Beloyevo Secondary School in Komi-Permyatskiy Autonomous Okrug, Perm Oblast; I.N. Yakushin, chairman of the V.I. Lenin Kolkhoz in Lyuberetskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast; V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee; A.A. Nikonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom and president of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences; G.M. Butchenko, machine operator on the Michurin Kolkhoz in Odesskiy Rayon, Omsk Oblast; Ye.A. Katasonova, chief animal specialist on the "Rossiya" Kolkhoz, Velikoburlukskiy Raykom, Kharkov Oblast; and M.B. Ryzhikov, AUCCTU secretary and chairman of the Agro-Industrial Complex Workers Trade Union Central Committee.

The congress adopted a resolution [rezolyutsiya] and a decision [postanovleniye] on the questions discussed.

The delegates then unanimously elected the Union Council of Kolkhozes.

The Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers here finished its work.

Congress Election Results

PM281452 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Mar 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Session of Union Council of Kolkhozes"]

[Text] The first organizational session of the Union Council of Kolkhozes has taken place.

Comrade Ivan Ivanovich Kukhar, chairman of the Vladimir Ilich Kolkhoz in Moscow Oblast's Leninskiy Rayon and twice Hero of Socialist Labor, was elected chairman of the Union Council of Kolkhozes.

The following comrades were elected deputy chairmen of the Union Council of Kolkhozes:

Aleksandr Ivanovich Iyevlev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom and USSR minister;

Vladimir Ivanovich Krivorotov, chairman of the "Rossiya" Kolkhoz in Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon, Crimea Oblast, Ukrainian SSR, a Hero of Socialist Labor; and

Ernst Yegorovich Leshiyevskiy, team leader at the Dimitrov Kolkhoz in Tolochinskiy Rayon, Vitebsk Oblast, Belorussian SSR, a Hero of Socialist Labor and holder of a USSR State Prize.

Cooperatives, Charter Resolution

PM281454 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Mar 88 p 1

["Resolution of the Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers on the Draft USSR Law 'On the Cooperative System in the USSR' and Amendments to the Kolkhoz Model Charter"]

[Text] Having discussed the draft USSR Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR" and the proposals for amendments to the kolkhoz Model Charter, the Fourth All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members resolves:

1. To approve the draft USSR Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR." Founded on Leninist ideas of the cooperative system, the draft law opens up broad prospects for the development of the cooperative movement and makes it possible to more fully implement the advantages of the socialist system and better to satisfy Soviet people's needs. It harmoniously combines the interests of the state and the cooperative system and incorporates legal foundations for the development of true kolkhoz democracy and the protection of the kolkhozes' rights and interests.

The Union Council of Kolkhozes is instructed to sum up the proposals and observations voiced in the course of the discussion of the draft USSR Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR" by the congress delegates and submit them to the USSR Council of Ministers commission for finalizing the draft law.

2. To adopt as a basis the kolkhoz Model Charter with the proposed amendments and to instruct the Union Council of Kolkhozes finally to approve it, taking into account the discussion that took place, as well as the provisions of the USSR Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR" after its adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Accelerating Development Resolution

PM281630 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Mar 88 pp 1-2

["Resolution of the Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers on Accelerating the Socioeconomic Development of Kolkhozes in the New Conditions of Economic Management and Democratization of Management"]

[Text] The Fourth All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members is taking place in a crucial period of the country's life, when the party's course of restructuring is being incorporated in concrete action. Transformations of a revolutionary nature are taking in all spheres of the economy and sociopolitical activity. The processes of democratization and glasnost are being stepped up, the economic mechanism is being improved, and an active social policy is being implemented.

The kolkhoz peasantry fully supports the CPSU's strategy of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, increasing the working people's prosperity, and consolidating the positions of socialism and world peace. Rural working people are participating actively in the renewal of Soviet society, the development and strengthening of the kolkhoz system, and the resolution of the food question.

The congress agrees entirely with the provisions of the speech by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, on the all-around development of the cooperative movement on the basis of the creative utilization of Leninist ideas and the stepping up of the cooperative system's role in strengthening the economy and improving Soviet people's life.

The congress approves the main provisions of the draft USSR Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR," whose adoption will give a powerful new boost to the

kolkhoz movement, the deepening of the democratization of social relations, and the transition to economic methods of management and offers broad opportunities for the attainment of a radically new level of development for kolkhozes.

The congress notes that in recent years there have been substantial changes in the life of the kolkhozes. The material and technical base has strengthened, the level of intensification has increased, and the production of output and the kolkhoz members' real incomes have grown. The kolkhoz members' contribution to resolving the task of providing the country's population with food is increasing. They account for nearly one-half of gross agricultural output.

Particularly marked changes for the better in the development of the kolkhozes have taken place since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress. The stepping up of the social development of the countryside, the wide introduction of contract forms of labor organization and incentives, and the spread of cooperative work and integration are helping to increase the peasants' labor activeness.

While objectively assessing the results achieved, the congress notes that in past years many kolkhozes were not able fully to utilize the constantly growing production and economic potential. For a long time the human factor was undervalued, progressive methods of labor organization and remuneration were not properly developed, and the role of economic accountability relations was minimized. All this led to a dependent attitude and the sense of proprietorship of the land and collective ownership was lost. Considerable laggardness occurred in the implementation of the Food Program targets for the production of grain, meat, sugar beet, sunflowers, and other produce. The return on capital investments remains low, especially the cost-effectiveness of expenditure on land reclamation and intensive techniques. Persistent work to strengthen the kolkhozes' economy is not taking place everywhere, and many of them still make a loss or only a low profit.

The resolution of the food problem is adversely affected by the lack of in-depth integration links between farms and processing industry enterprises and other organizations in the agro-industrial complex. The processing of produce and the creation of other production facilities on the kolkhozes themselves are not being properly developed. The potential of rural dwellers' personal plots is not fully utilized, and the reduction in livestock numbers on these plots is causing concern.

The countryside lags substantially behind in social development and there is an acute shortage of well appointed housing, children's preschool institutions, and health, public education, and cultural and consumer facilities. Farms sustain great losses because of the lack of hard-surfaced roads. Requirements for fuel, natural gas, and electricity are not met.

Violations of the principles of kolkhoz democracy occur and the role of general meetings of labor collectives is minimized. Administration by decree has not been eradicated in the management of kolkhozes, nor has the desire to regulate their activity.

The Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers puts forward as the most important task for the kolkhoz peasantry at the present stage that of ensuring an all-around increase in food production on the basis of the wide development of all forms of cooperative work, the utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and leading experience, and the implementation of the switch to full economic accountability, self-financing, and genuine self-management.

To successfully resolve this task it is particularly important to concentrate forces and resources on the priority avenues of the development of the agro-industrial complex and the elimination of bottlenecks that retard the improvement of its efficiency.

Ensuring an accelerated increase in gross grain yields is still a key problem. At the same time it is necessary significantly to increase the rate of growth in the production of meat, milk, oil seed crops, sugar beet, cotton, flax, potatoes, and fruit and vegetable produce. There should be particular concern for ensuring that livestock raising is fully supplied with high quality feed.

The congress emphasizes the need for a more rapid increase in labor productivity, reduction in prime cost, and significant improvement in output quality, and for a drastic reduction in losses of agricultural products during production, transportation, and storage.

The paramount duty of the kolkhozes is to make rational use of the land assigned to them, increase the fertility and output of every hectare of agricultural land, improve the profitability of production, increase incomes, exploit the money-goods relationship more fully, and strengthen in every way contractual discipline and responsibility for the fulfillment of commitments adopted. They should develop widely, on the basis of their own resources and on a cooperative basis, the processing of agricultural output, the production of consumer goods, trade, and the provision of services to the population.

Particular significance should be attached to the implementation of measures to overcome as quickly as possible the laggardness on the part of loss-making farms and those making a low profit and to the creation of the conditions to ensure extended reproduction on those farms out of their own resources. To this end it is important to make active use of the potential of production and science-and-production systems and cooperative work with economically strong farms and industrial enterprises on a contractual and rental basis. It is necessary to improve the structure of production in light of

natural and economic conditions, reinforce these farms with highly skilled cadres, and improve the cultural and consumer conditions of the kolkhoz members' lives.

All possible support should be given to the development of the personal plots of kolkhoz members and other citizens, and these plots should be regarded as an important source for supplementing food resources. It is necessary to step up the integration of personal plots with the public sector on contractual terms.

The priority task is the wide introduction of progressive methods of labor organization and incentives, first and foremost on the basis of the conditions of the collective and family contract as the main form of production and economic relations. Wide use should be made of the system of renting plots of land and fixed capital to autonomous, economically accountable, cooperative collectives, whose income is dependent on the end results of their economic activity. Here constant attention must be devoted to the qualitative aspect of the work of contract collectives, material and technical supplies for them, mutual compliance with contracts and commitments, and the involvement of specialists and leaders in contract activity. It is necessary to resolutely establish the principles of social justice, to eradicate any manifestations of wage leveling, and to combat overreporting and unearned income.

The congress attaches the greatest significance to the further development and deepening of cooperative work within the kolkhoz and also with other enterprises and organizations and to the creation of forms of integration whereby the production, processing, and sale of output are combined and there is agro-industrial servicing and scientific backup. In this respect it is important to make use of the experience accumulated in setting up and developing agro-industrial associations, agro-industrial combines, agro-industrial firms, and production and science-and-production associations and systems and to strengthen and develop foreign economic ties, and especially direct ties with cooperatives, organizations, and firms in other countries, first and foremost the socialist countries.

To develop stable labor collectives, it is necessary to improve the kolkhoz members' working and living conditions in every way. Particular concern should be shown for young people and for involving them in energetic labor activity. The necessary social and consumer conditions must be created for them and young men and women must be helped to master modern professions and new methods of economic management. The construction of roads, housing, children's preschool institutions, schools, and health, culture, trade, and consumer facilities should be expanded on the basis of the kolkhozes' own resources and on a cooperative basis. Great attention should be devoted to the individual and cooperative construction of housing, primarily the farmstead type. The provision of amenities at rural settlements should be improved. In conjunction with trade union organs, the network of kolkhoz and interkolkhoz sanatoriums and prophylactic centers, pioneer camps, and boarding houses for labor veterans should be developed.

In every labor collective an atmosphere of creativity should be created, socialist competition should be developed, initiative and the innovative spirit should be encouraged, and kolkhoz members should be encouraged to develop professional pride, zeal, a sense of proprietorship, and intolerance of thriftlessness and violations of labor and technological discipline. It is necessary to launch mass production education and universal economic education for kolkhoz members and to ensure the wide implementation in practice of intensive techniques and economic accountability methods of production activity.

The most important condition for increasing the kolkhoz members' labor and political activeness is wide glasnost, the democratization of all aspects of life, and their active participation in the resolution of production, social, and cadre questions. It is necessary to increase the importance of meetings and develop criticism and self-criticism. All economic organizational and educational work must be channeled into the development in every working person of a sense of personal commitment to the development of the collective farm and to increasing its income.

The congress particularly stresses the need to further increase the role of elected kolkhoz organs and protect the kolkhozes resolutely against unlawful interference in their activity. On this basis the congress instructs the Union Council of Kolkhozes to draw up concrete proposals on this matter, and also to make active use of existing legislation, the kolkhoz Model Charter, and the draft Law on the Cooperative System now under nationwide discussion, to ensure guarantees of the autonomy of kolkhozes.

In their day-to-day work kolkhoz councils must focus attention on ensuring the development of kolkhoz democracy, summarizing and disseminating leading experience, and increasing the economic efficiency of production, and seek the real implementation of genuine self-management by labor collectives.

The congress appeals to all USSR ministries and departments, enterprises, and organizations producing and supplying means of production for agriculture to adopt resolute measures to radically improve material and technical supplies to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises and organizations in the agro-industrial complex of high quality and reliable machines, equipment, and other resources.

The Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers Members assures the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers that the kolkhoz peasantry, under the CPSU leadership, will labor selflessly to make a weighty contribution to the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and the strengthening of the motherland's might. The congress expresses confidence that working people in the fields and livestock units will do everything necessary to reliably provide the country with food and agricultural raw materials and will increase the effectiveness of socialist competition for a fitting greeting for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Brochure Carries Gorbachev Congress Address
LD282219 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1525 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—The brochure, "The Potential of Cooperatives—for the Cause of Restructuring" [potentsial kooperatsii—delu perestroyki] has been published. It contains the speech by M.S. Gorbachev at the Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers on 23 March 1988. The brochure has been published by the "POLITICHESKAYA LITERATURA" publishing house.